
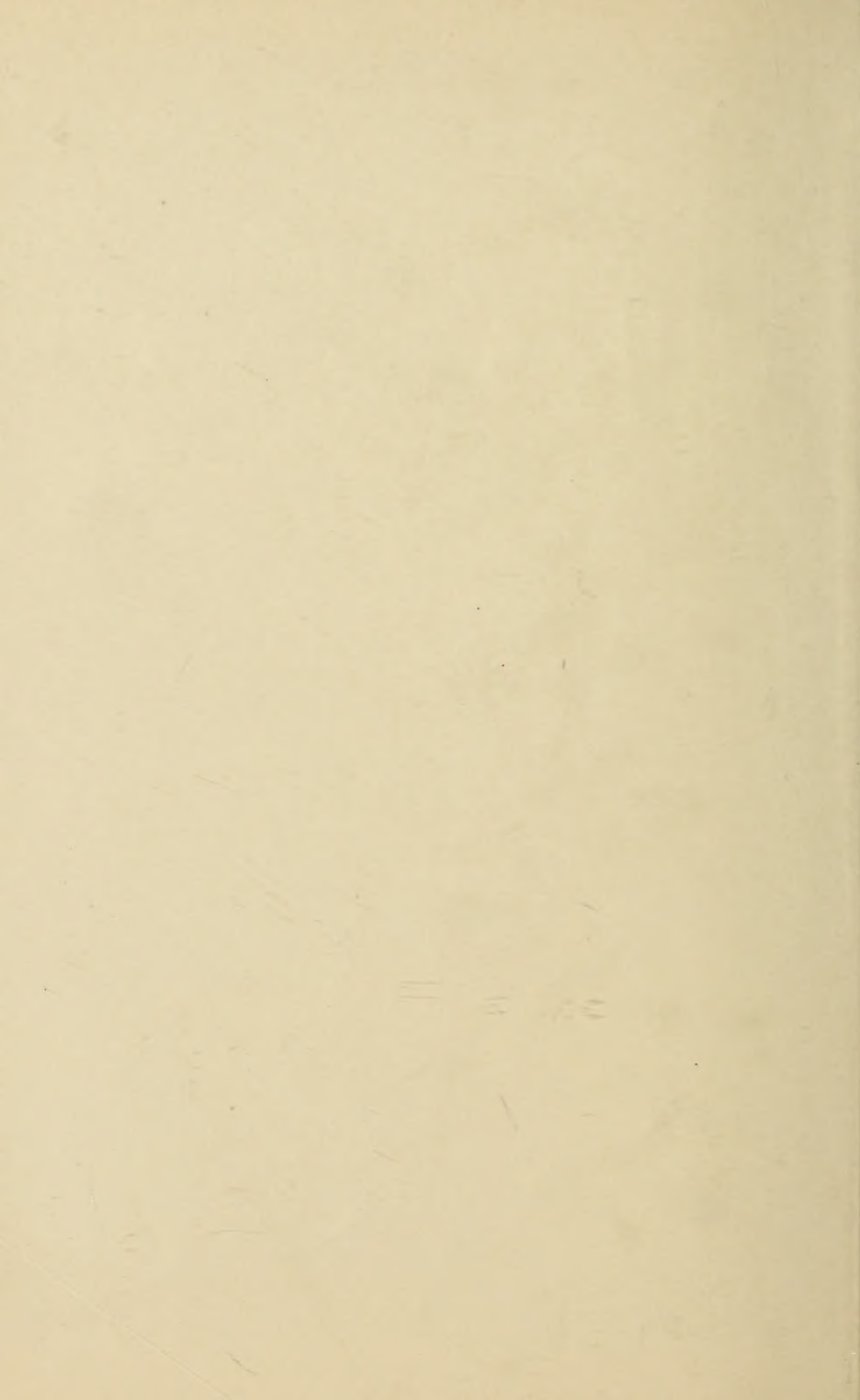


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HERODOTUS

I

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HERODOTUS

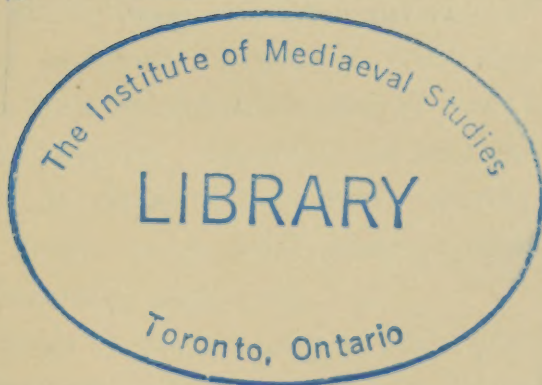
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CLIO

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PREFACE

THIS edition of the First Book of Herodotus follows the arrangement adopted by Dr E. S. Shuckburgh in his editions of the later Books in the Pitt Press Series. The notes deal chiefly with points of interpretation and Herodotean usage, while information as to persons and places has been massed together in a separate Historical and Geographical Index.

In preparing the text and the conspectus of the more important manuscript variants I have derived great assistance from the *apparatus critici* of Stein and Hude and from Blaydes' *Adversaria in Herodotum*. On questions of dialect I have freely referred to Prof. Smyth's treatise on the Ionic Dialect, a work to which I am under deep obligations.

My notes throughout owe a great deal to Stein and Rawlinson. Mr Wood's edition in the *Catena Classicorum* I have found extremely helpful, and Bähr and Abicht I have constantly consulted. The sources of my information on oriental questions are generally quoted in the notes. For many interesting details on points of Greek archaeology and topography I am indebted to Dr Frazer's great edition of Pausanias.

I have to thank my friend Mr Giles of Emmanuel College for much kindly advice and encouragement during my work.

Lastly I owe a deep debt of gratitude to the skill and accuracy of the officials at the Pitt Press.

CLIFTON,
August, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION

APART from a number of scattered allusions to his travels the *Histories* of Herodotus contain practically no biographical material, and we are forced to resort to the untrustworthy notices of Suidas and other late writers for the reconstruction of his life. The following details seem fairly well established. He was born early in the fifth century at Halicarnassus, a Carian city which had been colonised by Dorians but passed into Ionian hands and was at that time ruled by native princes under the suzerainty of Persia. He came of good family. His father's name was Lyxes, his mother's Dryo or Rhoeo, and he was either nephew or cousin of the epic poet Panyasis. In consequence of an unsuccessful attempt to free his native city from the tyranny of Lygdamis he was some time before 454 B.C. forced to fly to Samos, and his relative Panyasis was put to death. His sojourn in Samos accounts for his intimate acquaintance with the history and topography of the island. On the fall of the tyrant he returned to Halicarnassus, but owing to further political troubles withdrew to Athens where he became acquainted with the poet Sophocles and perhaps with Pericles. In 443 B.C. he settled at the new Athenian colony of Thurii in Magna Graecia, where according to Suidas he died. Others say that he ended his life at Athens, and if in v. 77 he is referring to the new Propylaea of the Acropolis, he must have been in Athens

after its completion in 432 B.C. He alludes to several events at the opening of the Peloponnesian war, the surprise of Plataea, the invasion of Attica, the expulsion of the Aeginetans by the Athenians and the execution of the Spartan ambassadors at Athens¹; but none of these allusions need have been inserted later than 430 B.C., and it is probable that he died shortly after that year.

Much of Herodotus' time was spent in travelling.

His travels. As we know from his own writings, he was familiar with all the most important islands of the Aegean, he had a thorough acquaintance with western Asia Minor, and he journeyed from Sardis into the heart of the Persian Empire and probably visited Babylon. Northwards he travelled in Thrace and Macedonia and voyaged along the shores of the Black Sea from Scythia to Colchis. Southwards he visited Cyrene, Egypt where he sailed up the Nile as far as Elephantine, and the coast of Palestine. He was acquainted with the principal cities of European Greece and resided for a time in southern Italy. Considering the difficulty and danger of travel in those days and the multitude of unfamiliar languages which he had to encounter, Herodotus' journeys must be considered a truly remarkable achievement of foreign travel. It is to be noted, however, that in his oriental journeys he always kept within the limits of the Persian Empire, where he was likely to be comparatively secure against molestation.

What was the motive of his extensive travels? To judge from his own words, it was thirst for information.

'Moreover I visited both Thebes and Heliopolis for this cause, namely because I wished to know whether the priests at these places would agree in their accounts

¹ vii. 233; ix. 73; vi. 91; vii. 137.

with those at Memphis,' ii. 3. In ii. 44 he tells us that his researches upon the god Heracles led him from Egypt to Tyre and from Tyre to Thasos. There is no evidence that he travelled as a merchant, and though the theory that he was a professional *logopoios*, or maker and reciter of prose tales, like the *epopoios* or maker of epic verse, would account for his visits to so many Greek cities¹, it is difficult to imagine a paid reciter travelling into the heart of Persia for 'copy.' We must fall back upon the obvious solution that his travels were undertaken partly out of scientific curiosity, partly from mere love of seeing the world. He only followed the example of his predecessor Hecataeus who visited the Black Sea, Persia and Egypt, collecting material for his geographical and historical work, *A Map of the World*.

The chronology of Herodotus' journeys is a subject on which widely different views have been held. He was certainly in Egypt after 460 B.C., for he saw the skulls of the slain on the battlefield of Papremis (iii. 12). Indeed a Greek of pronounced Athenian sympathies like Herodotus could hardly have travelled with safety through the Persian dominions before 449 B.C., when the Athenian victory off Salamis in Cyprus appears to have resulted in some sort of understanding between Persia and Athens. His voyage to the Black Sea is sometimes connected with Pericles' expedition to those waters in 444 B.C. The old view was that most of his travels were over before he became a citizen of Thurii, but nowadays it is argued that at least his extensive oriental tours should be placed after his settlement there, for reasons which are closely connected with a theory as to the date and mode of composition of his work.

¹ Cp. Gilbert Murray, *History of Ancient Greek literature*, p. 135.

The History of Herodotus deals with the relations between Greece and the East from early times down to 478 B.C. The division into nine books, which were later named after the nine Muses, is probably due to an Alexandrian editor, who was singularly happy in his distribution, as each book forms a definite natural unity. But the work is susceptible of another division into three larger sections, each comprising three books. Thus the first three deal mainly with the rise and the heyday of the Persian empire, the middle three with its failure in Scythia and at Marathon, and the last three with its utter discomfiture at Salamis and Plataea¹. Now it is clear that the climax towards which the whole work moves is the dramatic story of the last three books, the remaining six being but the preliminary setting of the great events which close the work, and Dr Macan has produced a number of minute pieces of evidence which taken together go to show that the final books were the first composed. To quote his own words: "What theory is at once more simple and more consistent with the work, as we find it, than the view that Herodotus first projected and, to a greater or less extent, first elaborated the History of the Persian War in Bks. 7, 8, 9, ... and that afterwards there developed before his mind the possibility of working up into a vast prelude to that main theme materials amassed during many years of study, research, inquiry, travel, a prelude that should pourtray the historic antecedents, both Barbarian and Hellenic, of the great struggle, and present in vivid colours a panorama of the two worlds that clashed together in the final duel²?" In accordance with this theory it is supposed that Herodotus wrote what is now the concluding portion of

¹ Cp. J. B. Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians*, p. 38, after Macan.

² R. W. Macan, *Herodotus* VII.—IX. p. xlvi.

his book before 445 B.C., perhaps while residing at Athens. Then the idea occurred to him of expanding his work to embrace the events which led up to the final struggle, and the travels which he undertook for the collection of material may account for the great wealth of geographical information in the early books. Nothing definite is known as to the date or mode of publication of the work. According to Lucian¹ he recited his history to admiring crowds at an Olympic festival. Another story is that the young Thucydides heard one of his recitations and displayed so much interest and emotion as to attract the historian's attention². Though we may safely be sceptical about the presence of Thucydides, there is no improbability in Herodotus having given public readings in Athens. Diyllus³ tells us that Herodotus was awarded 10 talents by the Athenian people. But, as Prof. Gilbert Murray remarks⁴, that cannot have been a payment for a series of recitations, though it may well have been the reward for important political information gathered by Herodotus on his travels and imparted to the Athenian government. The Histories were well known at Athens by 425 B.C., for in that year Aristophanes parodied some sentences of Book I. in his *Acharnians*.

Herodotus, the Father of history, was by no means the first Greek historian, though he marks an epoch in the development of Greek historical writing⁵. In the seventh century the Homeric poems formed not only the bible but the history book of Greece. They were regarded as records of facts, not of legends. States and families connected them-

The rise of
history.
Hecataeus.

¹ *Herodotus or Action*.

² Suidas s. v. Θουκυδίδης.

³ See Plutarch, *mor.* 862.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 135.

⁵ This section owes much to Prof. Bury's *Ancient Greek Historians*, pp. 1—35.

selves in all seriousness with the great 'historical' figures of the epic periods. Poets sought to systematise and arrange in chronological order the materials of epic tradition and in the process produced a host of new genealogical epics flattering to civic vanity or family pride. Thus whatever historical investigation there was dealt solely with the mythical past. But in the sixth century a new era began. The Greeks of Ionia, then the centre of intellectual progress in Hellas, developed a critical and rationalistic spirit which could no longer rest content with the old legends. Their embodiment in the Persian empire naturally excited a curiosity in regard to the history and country of their new overlords. At the same time for philosophical and scientific purposes prose began to take the place of hexameter verse. These tendencies are illustrated by Hecataeus of Miletus, who not only wrote prose *Genealogies* on the model of the genealogical epics but revealed his interest in contemporary affairs by his *Map of the World* which included numerous notices of oriental history. His *Genealogies* began with the words: 'These things I write as I deem true, for the tales of the Greeks are manifold and in my opinion ridiculous'; but his scepticism appears to have limited itself to a mild rationalising of certain myths. He was not only an author but a practical politician as well. Thus at the beginning of the Ionic revolt he advised the Ionians not to undertake war with Persia, 'enumerating all the nations over whom Darius was ruler and his power.' [Herod. v. 36.]

Younger contemporaries of Hecataeus were Charon of Lampsacus, author of *Annals of Lampsacus* and a history of Persia which probably included the invasion of Xerxes; Dionysius of Miletus whose writings on Persia certainly recorded her defeat by

Other early
historians.

Greece; and Scylax of Caryanda whose *Periplus* dealt with the coasts of Arabia and India. About the same time Xanthus of Lydia wrote a Lydian history in Greek, while somewhat later Antiochus of Syracuse narrated the affairs of Magna Graecia. These writers contented themselves with mere recitals of fact or legend, probably with little appreciation of the distinction between the two and certainly without any critical examination of their materials.

It appears then that Herodotus had several forerunners

in his own field, and we can hardly doubt that he was familiar with their works. But it is difficult to discover precisely how much he was indebted to them in the composition of his own history, as it was customary in those days to borrow from other authors without acknowledgment. To Hecataeus indeed he refers several times, but generally to criticise him, though it is clear that at least in his account of Egypt he draws upon him largely, as he carefully reproduces his blunders. We might expect that the influence of Xanthus would be traceable in the Lydian section of Book I., but a number of legends which we know occurred in Xanthus find no place in it and Xanthus appears to have disbelieved the story of the Lydian colonisation of Etruria accepted by Herodotus. Still according to Ephorus¹ Xanthus 'provided a starting-point for Herodotus.' But however much Herodotus may have taken over from previous writers, he impressed the whole with the stamp of his own genius, and the question naturally arises what were the qualities which made him so immeasurably superior to his immediate predecessors and caused his work to survive, while theirs have almost utterly perished?

¹ *Ap.* Athen. XII. p. 515.

First, Herodotus showed singular acuteness in his choice of a subject, the eternal contest of East and West culminating in the great victories of Greece at Salamis and Plataea. This in itself sufficed to give his book a unity and dramatic interest possessed by no previous and hardly any subsequent historical work. Ancient critics justly remarked the superior nobility of his theme to that of Thucydides with its exaggerated estimate of the importance of a local Greek war. But not only did Herodotus choose a great subject; he expanded it into a picture of practically the whole known world. The various *logoi*, tales or sections of his book dealing with different countries and probably composed at different times, the frequent historical and geographical digressions, antiquarian talks, anecdotes, biographical sketches, are interwoven into the main narrative with marvellous skill and rarely injure the unity of the work.

Secondly, Herodotus beyond his predecessors was an *interesting* writer, too interesting in the judgment of Thucydides, who severely observes [I. 21] that the ancient historians, like the poets, have written what is attractive to the ear rather than truthful, things admitting of no proof, very often fabulous and incredible. Thucydides, the first scientific historian, had naturally but small sympathy with writers whose canons of historical truth were less exacting than his own, and indeed, judged by Thucydidean standards, Herodotus cannot escape the charge of being uncritical. But it must not be supposed that he deliberately sacrificed truth in the interests of a good story. He is sincerely anxious to record with accuracy what he discovered for himself or was told by others, he is almost morbidly afraid of being disbelieved by his readers and, generally speaking, is remarkably incredulous of marvels. Much of his

Merits of
Herodotus.
1. Choice of
subject.

2. Interesting
treatment.

oriental history and archaeology, it is true, has been proved by inscriptions to be incorrect, but if he deserves censure on this head, it must be for placing too implicit faith in the written histories which he consulted or in the information given him by his guides, who in some cases appear to have purposely misled him. Certainly Herodotus might have weighed his evidence with greater care and held the balance more nicely between conflicting accounts of the same event, but on the other hand it is hardly fair to estimate his work by rules of historical criticism unknown to his generation. And whatever his shortcomings as a scientific historian may be, he has no equal in his own style of writing. All his work is pervaded by a strong human and moral interest. 'The attitude of Herodotus,' says Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹, 'is fair throughout, showing pleasure in the good and grief at the bad.' Dionysius notes too his skill in representing character. "Herodotus," says Rawlinson, "never condescends to describe a character. His men and women act and speak for themselves, and thereby leave an impression of life and individuality on the reader's mind, which the most skilful word-painting would have failed of producing²." For pathos, humour, power of vivid description he has few equals, while he is an acknowledged prince of story-tellers. The effectiveness of Herodotus is largely due to his having introduced into prose composition characteristics which, so far as we know, had hitherto been confined to poetry.

This leads us to consider a third excellence in Herodotus, his literary style. According to Dionysius³ simplicity, clearness and conciseness

3. Literary
Style.

¹ *Letter to Pompeius* 3.

² G. Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus*³ Vol. I. p. 130.

³ *De Thucydide* 5.

characterised the style of the early historians, and Herodotus follows the tradition at least as regards the first two qualities. "With Herodotus," says Rawlinson¹, "composition is not an art, but a spontaneous outpouring. He does not cultivate graces of style, or consciously introduce fine passages. He writes as his subject leads him, rising with it, but never transcending the modesty of nature, or approaching to the confines of bombast." Aristotle [*Rhet.* III. 2. 2] quotes the opening words of the Histories as an instance of the λέξις εἰρομένη, the *running* style, 'which has no end in itself, until the sense comes to an end,' i.e. the style in which the clauses are simply coordinated. This, he says, was the ancient style; later came the *compact* style, arranged in periods, a period being 'a sentence which has a beginning and an end in itself and is of a size to be taken in at a glance.' Herodotus' ordinary narrative style is certainly of the *running* variety, but his more elaborate speeches are distinctly periodic in structure and in some cases contain studied antitheses and other tricks of rhetoric². By the author of Περὶ ὕψους Herodotus is called Ὀμηρικώτατος, perhaps the most illuminating characterisation of him that it is possible to give. The epic colouring of his work may owe something to the influence of the poet Panyasis, and this colouring, as Dr Macan points out³, is most pronounced in the last three books, which were probably written first, when his relative's influence would be strongest. But however that may be, he is steeped in the Homeric poems; echoes of their phraseology occur on almost every page, and the 'episodical' arrangement of his work

¹ *op. cit.* Vol. I. p. 136.

² Cp. i. cc. 32, 207 with notes, iii. 80 ff., viii. 50. See Mahaffy, *Classical Greek Literature* Vol. II. Pt I. p. 31 ff.

³ *op. cit.* p. xlviiii.

with its frequent digressions skilfully welded to the main theme is thoroughly epic. 'My history,' he says (iv. 30) 'from the first sought opportunities for digression,' and Dionysius puts this down to a deliberate imitation of Homer for the purpose of giving it variety¹. Again his mode of presentation is epic and dramatic—'tragic,' Plato would have called it, who recognised that the distinction between epos and drama was mainly one of external form. His book is largely interspersed with 'imitation' in the Platonic sense²; 'he speaks in the persons of his characters and endeavours, so far as he can, to make us believe that it is not Herodotus who is speaking but someone else,' might have been Plato's verdict on his style. This dramatic element no doubt owes something to the direct influence of Aeschylean tragedy. His position in the history of literature is felicitously expressed in the following words of Jebb: "Akin to the Ionian writers of his own and an earlier day in describing countries geographically and socially, he is novel in the massive epic-like unity of his plan, in the dramatic life of his narrative, and also in the desire to amuse while he instructs, as seen in his admirably-told stories. He is the earliest artist in his kind, the Homer of European prose³."

A few words must be said on the vexed question of Herodotus' dialect. His History, like the
His dialect. histories of his predecessors, was written in Ionic Greek, which was probably his native dialect, for Halicarnassus, though once a Dorian town, had come under strong Ionic influence. But the precise kind of Ionic which he employed has given rise to much discussion. The old notion that he wrote in the dialect of Samos, due to a forced interpretation of some words of

¹ *Letter to Pompeius* 3.

² Cp. *Rep.* 393 A.

³ In *A Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 122.

Suidas¹, is not supported by what we know of Samian Ionic. When Dionysius² represents him as the 'canon' or highest standard of Ionic, he appears to be referring rather to his style of writing history than to his dialect. For Herodotus did not use a perfectly 'pure' Ionic. To illustrate Ionic forms ancient grammarians quote not from Herodotus, but from Democritus, Pherecydes or Hecataeus. Indeed Hermogenes³ call his dialect a 'variegated' Ionic, meaning no doubt that it admitted epic and lyric, Doric and Attic forms. A medley of such forms occurs in our manuscripts, the same words wear now an Ionic now an Attic dress, and those who believe in the genuineness of such variants explain them merely by Herodotus' love of variety. It does not seem very likely that he admitted Ionic and Attic forms of the same word side by side, but he probably allowed himself considerable latitude in the use of epic forms. It must be confessed however that owing to the untrustworthiness of the manuscripts we are singularly ignorant as to the limits of Herodotus' ποικιλία. Prof. H. W. Smyth, the most recent investigator of the question, regards the dialect of Herodotus as a literary Ionic based on the speech of Miletus, the great intellectual centre of Ionia, and sums up its general character as follows: "The *Ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις* was originally composed, not in the pure Milesian dialect as spoken in ordinary life by the Milesian of the fifth century, but in an ennobled form of the Milesian dialect which, gradually perfected by the predecessors of Herodotus, had received under the hands of the historian an impress due to the peculiar virtue of his genius. This literary Ionic had its roots in the soil. Its inflections and phonetics were those of the common speech⁴."

¹ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα ἠσκήθη διάλεκτον.

² *Letter to Pompeius* 3.

³ Περὶ ἰδεῶν II. 12. 6.

⁴ *Ionic Dialect* § 92.

SUMMARY OF BOOK I.

Book I. is a particularly good illustration of the diversity of Herodotus' materials and of the happy ingenuity with which he welds them together into an artistic whole. He begins with a half humorous account of the legendary causes of quarrel between East and West [cc. 1—5]. But, characteristically refusing to commit himself to any definite view on such matters, he soon takes a fresh start with the historical fact of Croesus' aggression on the Asiatic Greeks. At the same time he warns his readers that they must expect him to be discursive; he will take them to visit the cities of men, small as well as great. The mention of Croesus introduces a lengthy *logos* on the growth and history of Lydia [cc. 6—94]. Herodotus starts with two early dynasties, the Atyadae and the Heracleidae [c. 7], but hardly reaches authentic history till the reign of Gyges, whose conspiracy against the Heracleid Candaules as described in cc. 8—13, perhaps somewhat too picturesquely for literal acceptance, must contain a considerable nucleus of fact.

The expansion of Lydia under Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes and Alyattes is then narrated [cc. 14—22], and the part played by Periander of Corinth in bringing about peace between Alyattes and the Milesians provokes the story of the minstrel Arion, a prominent figure at the tyrant's court [cc. 23—24].

A long subsection is then devoted to Croesus [cc. 26—92], whose career is for Herodotus an illustration of *nemesis*, the divine retribution which overtakes a man for pride begotten of prosperity or even for prosperity without pride, that in itself being enough to excite the jealousy

Diversity of subjects treated.

Dramatic handling of the story of Croesus.

of heaven according to the old-fashioned view. At the zenith of his power Croesus, the story goes, had a conversation with Solon, whose warnings on the mutability of human happiness he thoroughly despised. But retribution soon followed in the death of his son Atys, slain by the luckless Adrastus [cc. 34—45]. And worse awaited him. In the insolence of his pride he determined to attack the Persians, the responses of Greek oracles which he interpreted in the light of his own wishes confirming him in his fatal resolve. The story of his fall, which need not here be related, gives occasion for three important digressions, the first on Athenian and Lacedaemonian history, containing sketches of the Pelasgians, Peisistratus, Lycurgus, and Sparta's wars with Tegea [cc. 56—68], the second on a former war between the Lydians and the Medes, which was ended by an eclipse of the sun,—a valuable aid to fixing the chronology of the period [cc. 73—74],—and the third on Sparta's quarrel with Argos [cc. 82—83].

The episode of Croesus aptly exemplifies the strength and the weakness of Herodotus, his weakness in that he strings together fact, anecdote, legend, without an attempt to estimate their varying degrees of truth, apparently unconscious that they are not all equally history; his strength in the wonderful dramatic power with which he inspires his story. Here he is not only epic in his discursiveness, but tragic in the gloomy retributive idea which runs through and gives unity to the tale. Croesus as an illustration of universal principles is a poetical rather than an historical figure.

But the central character of Book I. is Croesus' conqueror, Cyrus, who overthrew the Median empire and brought almost the whole of western Asia under Persian domination. As

Rise of
Cyrus.

a preliminary, Herodotus describes how the Medes threw off the Assyrian yoke [c. 95], and sketches the careers of four Median sovereigns, the first two of whom are probably unhistorical, the tale of Deïoces' rise to power being merely a Greek 'tyrant's progress' with a little oriental colouring [cc. 96—107]. Then follows the romantic story of Cyrus' birth and exaltation [cc. 107—130], a story which he obtained from Persians 'who did not desire to magnify the exploits of Cyrus but to tell the simple truth,' and which he prefers to three other versions known to him [c. 95]. But in spite of his high estimate of its credibility, most of it is obviously pure legend and what might be fact is not supported by the evidence of inscriptions. The story is pervaded by a strong religious element; Cyrus is regarded as under the special protection of providence.

At this point the dramatic tension is relaxed and a pause is given to the narrative by an excursus on the customs of Persia, just as the fall of Croesus is followed by a digression on Lydian antiquities, the crowning triumph of Cyrus by an account of Babylonia and his death by a description of the Massagetæ.

At c. 141 the main thread of the narrative is resumed. Cyrus' conquests. Cyrus' conquest of Lydia has already been recorded. It remains for Herodotus to deal with its immediate consequence, the subjugation of the Greeks and other peoples of Asia Minor [cc. 141—176]. The Ionian and Aeolian cities, described at some length in cc. 142—151, having sent an ineffective request to Sparta for help, Cyrus himself marched back to Agbatana, leaving Tabalus in charge of Sardis and 'for the present making no account of the Ionians' [cc. 152—153]. An abortive revolt broke out in Lydia, and soon

afterwards Harpagus was sent by Cyrus to take command in western Asia [cc. 154—162]. He captured the cities of Ionia one by one, the Phocaeans and Teians sailing away to new settlements in preference to submitting to Persia, and then subdued Caria and Lycia [cc. 162—176]. In this account of the comparatively recent history of western Asia, on the shores of which Herodotus spent much of his life, there is no reason to doubt his substantial accuracy.

The next section of the book [cc. 177—191] deals with the climax of Cyrus' career, his siege and capture of Babylon. Though a wonderfully graphic piece of writing, it cannot be said to represent the facts, for the city, we know from cuneiform inscriptions, was not taken by assault, but voluntarily opened its gates to the victorious Persian army. Herodotus too is unfortunate in his early Babylonian history; the queen Nitocris for instance, appears to be 'Nebuchadnezzar masquerading as a woman'.¹ The general tenor of his account of Babylon and its surroundings would certainly lead us to believe that he had himself been there, but there are a number of minor inaccuracies, and in particular his description of the city is difficult to reconcile with the ruins, as we know them. Prof. Sayce² indeed accuses Herodotus of deliberately endeavouring to produce a false impression that he had visited Babylonia, though really he had never been near it. Herein he is not followed by other critics, and few of us will believe that Herodotus was a conscious impostor. Hauvette, one of the most ardent champions on the other side, has made a gallant attempt to rehabilitate his credit in this matter³.

¹ Cp. J. B. Bury, *op. cit.* p. 71. ² *Herodotus* I.—III., p. xxviii.

³ *Hérodote, historien des guerres médiques*, p. 20 ff.

Cyrus' triumph at Babylon only increased his ambitions. Elated with pride, he had come to regard himself as invincible and cast about for fresh fields to conquer. He resolved to attack the Massagetæ. 'Now the ruler of the Massagetæ was a woman,' and it was this woman that *nemesis* chose for its instrument. In spite of the warnings of Croesus who had learnt his own lesson well, in spite of evil dreams foreshadowing his destruction although he knew it not, he persisted in the headstrong purpose which brought him to disaster and death. His clever strategy was all in vain, his troops were overwhelmed and he fell ingloriously amid a heap of nameless dead. The story of the great conqueror closes in a scene of horror,—the vindictive queen giving the outraged corpse its fill of blood. 'Concerning the end of the life of Cyrus there are many tales told,' says Herodotus, 'but this which I have related is to my mind the most worthy of belief.' We may be sure that he chose the most dramatic; whether the most historical, we may doubt, for the tomb of Cyrus is still to be seen at Pasargadae. Cyrus, like Croesus, points the moral, Greek no less than Hebrew, that 'pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall.'

The book ends quietly with an account of the Massagetæ. And here we may note that what Herodotus tells us about the manners and customs of barbarians, his 'anthropology' in fact, seems surprisingly accurate. He obviously writes down exactly what he hears, and as his informants would have no interest in misleading him in such matters, the details he gives us are generally correct.

Close of the
book.

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

THE principal difficulty presented by the text of Herodotus is the wild confusion of dialectical forms occurring in the MSS. In the centuries immediately succeeding Herodotus, the Ionic dialect, eclipsed by the superior glories of Attic, failed to excite much interest, with the result that quite early there ceased to be a definite tradition as to the forms which Herodotus employed. A number of obvious Atticisms and of so-called hyper-Ionisms, false Ionic forms invented by copyists after wrong analogies, may be unhesitatingly expelled from the text, but there remains a very large residuum of debatable spellings and inflexions which cannot be so easily disposed of. If we are to believe the MSS., Herodotus used indifferently *ποιεε*, *ποιει*, *ποιεειν*, *ποιειν*, *κέεται*, *κέιται*, *ὀρμεόμενος*, *ὀρμώμενος*, *θῶμα*, *θῶμα*, *χρᾶσθαι*, *χρησθαι*, *χρέεσθαι* etc. Some critics maintain that Herodotus following the example of Homer deliberately used now this now that form merely for the sake of variety. Others would adopt throughout that form of a given word which has the balance of MS. authority in its favour. Thus Stein consistently and perhaps rightly adopts *χρᾶσθαι* which has unanimous MS. support in 22 places as against *χρησθαι* in 6 and *χρέεσθαι* in 13. But this criterion, though often useful, cannot be regarded as absolutely trustworthy. Professor Smyth (*Ionic Dialect* § 92) lays down the principle that "when a word can be shown to be genuine Ionic and Herodotean, no variation in its form is permissible except in certain special cases, as, for example, those comparatively few epic reminiscences which are so direct as to carry the Homeric form into Herodotos." But is it not possible that the free use of dialectical alternatives in Homer may have led the historian to admit alternative forms into his own 'variegated Ionic' to a greater extent than Prof. Smyth allows? However that may be, no editor has yet attempted to introduce complete consistency into the text of Herodotus, nor is it clear that in our present state of knowledge such an attempt is desirable. Recent editors frequently adopt spellings strange to the MSS. on the

authority of inscriptions, e.g. *τεῖσαι, μεῖξις, οἰκτίρειν, παλαστή* for *τίσαι, μῖξις, οἰκτεῖρειν, παλαιστή*, but it is unsafe to argue from inscriptional Ionic to the literary Ionic of Herodotus.

All our extant MSS. of Herodotus appear from their common errors to be descendants of a single archetype. They are divisible into three classes, the first and most trustworthy comprising

(i) A, Codex Medicus, 10th cent., in the Laurentian Library at Florence.

B, Angelicanus, 11th cent., in the Library of the Augustinians at Rome. Chapters 1—35 and 42—68 of Book 1. were originally wanting and have been supplied by a later hand (b). The agreement between A and B is very close.

(ii) To the second and somewhat inferior family belong R, in the Vatican Library, 14th cent.

V, Vindobonensis, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, 14th cent.

S, the Sancroft MS. in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 14th cent.

In several instances R, V, S have preserved the true readings where A and B are corrupt, but their most remarkable feature is that they agree in exhibiting a number of extensive lacunae particularly in Book 1., e.g. cc. 46—52, 56—68, 77—79, 96—100, 140—177, 181—183, 196—199.

(iii) Thirdly there are a number of MSS. which cannot be definitely referred to either of these families, as they appear in various degrees to combine the readings of both. The chief are

C, in the Laurentian Library at Florence, 11th cent., related to A and B. Book 1. cc. 41—73 have been supplied by a later hand (c).

P, at Paris, 13th cent., according to Kallenberg belonging in Book 1. to the family ABC but corrected from a MS. of the R family. (See Smyth, *op. cit.* p. 93.)

d, in the Laurentian Library at Florence, early 14th cent., in Book 1. agreeing closely with RSV.

i. l. 5 ἀκλεῖα, ἀκλεᾶ MSS. l. 13 χῶρη om. cod. Paris. 1405.
iii. l. 4 οὐδὲ Schaefer, οὐτε. iv. l. 9 ἐβούλοντο, ἐβουλέατο MSS.
Similar forms in the MSS. are προαιδέατο c. 61, ἐγινέατο c. 67, περι-
εγενέατο c. 214 and κηδέαται c. 209. -εαται and -εατο are properly
confined to the perfect and the pluperf., and though admissible in the
pres. and imperf. indic. of -μι verbs (προτιθέαται c. 133, παρετιθέατο
c. 119) are mere copyists' errors in the pres. and imperf. of -ω verbs.
Smyth, § 585. l. 17 οἰκηιοῦνται. The first hands in AC give οἰκειοῦνται,
the other MSS. οἰκειεῦνται, a form implying the contraction οο=εἰ.

Cp. c. 123. vi. l. 3 Συρίων Bredow, Σύρων. (τε) Dion. Hal. *comp. verb.* 4. viii. l. 12 ποίει MSS., ποίειε Herwerden, but -ει seems the better Ionic form of the imperative, though the MSS. often give -ειε, e.g. ποίειε, cc. 124, 209 (but ποίει, c. 206 ABP), στρατηλάτее, c. 124. Smyth, § 655. x. l. 2 διαφυγείν, διαφυγείην MSS.; so in cc. 91, 204, the MSS. read -φυγείην. xi. l. 8 δυῶν ὁδῶν, δυοῖν ὁδοῖν MSS., but the dual is lost in literary Ionic. l. 17 ἐνδείν, ἐνδέειν Stein, but the contracted -είν is certainly good Ionic. Smyth, § 658. xii. l. 7 ὑπεκδύς H. Sauppe, ὑπεισδύς MSS.; K read as IC, a common error. xiii. l. 10 ἐπέειπε Naber, εἶπε MSS. xviii. l. 7 οὗτος, Σαδνάττης οὗτος MSS.; an obvious gloss. xxi. l. 12 χρᾶσθαι, χρέεσθαι CP, χρῆσθαι *rell.* Cp. p. xxvi. xxiv. l. 14 δῆ Stein, δέ. l. 38 οὐ μέγα Abd. The majority omit οὐ, an easy mistake after -ον. xxvi. l. 4 πολιορκούμενοι P, others πολιορκεύμενοι. Both forms are good Ionic, but πολιορκεύμενοι A is an Atticism. xxvii. l. 10 ἐν νόῳ Bekker, ἐν νῶ. l. 18 ἀράσθαι C²P S in margin, others ἀρώμενοι. Τουρ αἰωρευμένους. xxxi. l. 20 ῥώμην ABC, γνώμην PRSV. xxxii. l. 18 τούτων Rbd, τουτέων given by most MSS. is suspicious acc. to Smyth, § 447, 3. l. 22 πᾶν, πᾶς A² and in quotations of the passage. xxxiii. l. 3 ἀμαθέα, ἀμαθής A²S. xxxvii. l. 2 ἐπεσερχεται, l. 13 μέτες. MSS. unanimously give ἐπεισερχεται, μέτες, errors due to Atticising copyists. θ for τ is a particularly common blunder. xxxix. l. 9 οἶκε, ἔοικε MSS., but generally the MSS. favour the unreduplicated form. xli. l. 8 ὀρμωμένου, ὀρμεομένου MSS., cp. Smyth, § 688. l. 9 δηλήσει, δηλήσει MSS. -ει is proved by inscriptions to be a possible Ionic form, but the MSS. are generally in favour of -ῖ. xlv. l. 19 ἦδε H. Stephanus, ἦειδε or εἶδε MSS. ἦειδη is Homeric (*Od.* ix. 206) but does not survive in New Ionic. xlvi. l. 13 ἦψε Dindorf, ἦψε A, ἔψε P, but an old grammarian says no ancient author used ἦψουν. Smyth, § 637, 3. l. 1. 7 τούτο, τούτῳ Pb. l. 13 τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον Pollux ix. 54. Valla's translation, Venice 1474, has *duorum et dimidii talenti*; τρία ἡμιτάλαντα MSS. lvi. l. 9 τὰ προκεκριμένα (ἔθνεα), ἐόντα. The insertion of ἔθνεα is indispensable to the sense. The two components of ΕΘΝΕΑΕΟΝΤΑ are so similar in form that one may easily have dropped out. 'Pro ἐόντα recte, opinor, ἔθνεα corrigunt Porsonus et Dobraeus,' Blaydes. But ἐόντα is wanted as well as ἔθνεα. lviii. l. 6 Πελασγῶν Sauppe, πολλῶν MSS. l. 8 ἔμοιγε Reiske, ἐμοί τε. lxiii. l. 14 ἕκαστον, ἕκαστος Abc, a mere error in spite of Woods. lxiv. l. 15 Ἄλκιωνιδέων Wesseling. Ἄλκιωνιδέω MSS. Valla translates *cum Alcmeonidē*, which suggests that his MS. had the plural. lxv. l. 17 ἀλλά τι Stein, ἀλλ' ἔτι. lxvi. l. 4 εὐθνήθησαν bd, εὐθενήθησαν. εὐθνηείην occurs without variant ii. 91, 124. l. 24 σῶαι, σοῖαι most editors unnecessarily. Smyth, § 553. lxvii. l. 24 εἰσι (οἰ) τῶν ἀστῶν ἐξιόντες Richards, *Class. Rev.* xix. 290. lxix. l. 15 τινες (ἔς) αὐτοῦς Steger. lxxi. l. 6 πρόσθε, πρόσθεν MSS., but πρόσθε is the Herodotean form. l. 12 τρηχέαν Bekker, τρηχείην MSS. lxxiii. l. 19 ὀργὴν οὐκ ἄκρος: d omits οὐκ. l. 24 Κναζάρη, cp. c. 16, Κναζάρη B², the rest Κναζάρει as though from an -es stem. lxxiv. l. 25 ὁμοχροίην Stein, ὁμοχροίην. lxxv. l. 18 βαθέαν, βαθείην RSV, the rest βαθέην a gross hyper-Ionism. lxxvi. l. 5 κειμένη Wesseling, κειμένην. lxxvii. l. 12 Λακεδαιμονίοισι

Schaefer, *Λακεδαιμονίους*. l. 15 *ἔαρι* Schaefer, *ἤρι*. lxxix. l. 13 *ἀνδρηώτερον*, *ἀνδρειώτερον* MSS. l. 15 *δύρατα*, *δούρατα* MSS., the only place where the MSS. unanimously give the form; Smyth, § 253, would keep it here. lxxxiv. l. 17 *τοῦτο* Reiske, *τούτου*. l. 19 *οὗτος* Reiske, *αὐτός*. lxxxvi. l. 18 *προσστήναι*, *προστήναι* MSS. l. 41 *κελεύειν* B²V², *κελεύει*. lxxxix. l. 16 *προήσουσι* Bekker, *ποιήσουσι*. xc. l. 11 *ἐπηγορέων* Bredow, on analogy of *κατηγορέων*. *ἐπηγορία* found in Dio Cass.; *ἐπαγορέων* Lobeck, *ἐπηγορέων* MSS. l. 12 *ἐπαλλιλύγησε* Leopard ex Polluce II. 120, *ἐπανηλόγησε* MSS., non-existent. xci. l. 23 [εἶπε] Valckenaer. *τὰ εἶπε* om. SV. xcii. l. 23 *κνάφου* Hesych., *κναφήτου*. xciii. l. 1 *γῆ* (ῆ) Schaefer, *γῆ* MSS. l. 16 *ἐκδιδοῦσι*, *ἐκδιδοάσι* MSS., the only occurrence of the form in Herod. xcvi. l. 15 *πολιητέων* Schaefer, *πολιτέων*. cxviii. l. 20 *κύκλων* δ' *ἐόντων*... *ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ* most edd., but no change is needed. l. 22 *Ἀθηνέων* Reiske, *Ἀθηναίων*. l. 26 *σανδαράκινοι* A², *στονδαράκινοι*. c. l. 6 *τάδε δέ* Ellz, *τὰ δέ δὴ*. l. 8 *ἐδικαίεν*, *ἐδικαίου* A. Cp. notes on cc. 4, 123. cvi. l. 4 *φόρον* Reiske, *φόρων*. cvii. l. 6 *ὑπερθέμενος* Schaefer, *ὑποθέμενος*. cviii. l. 17 *σοὶ αὐτῷ* P, *σοὶ ἐωτῷ* AB. cix. l. 6 *οὐ τῆ* Struve, *οὐκ ἦ*. cx. l. 3 *ἐπιτηδειότατος* AB, *-εωτάτος* CP, *-εοτάτος* Stein wrongly. Smyth, § 554. cx. l. 16 *κραυγανώμενον* ABCP, the rest *κραυγανόμενον*. cxiv. l. 9 *ἐσφέρειν* Rd, *φέρειν* ABCP. cxv. l. 12 *ἐπιτηδειότατος*, cp. c. 110. *-εότατος* AB, *-εώτατος* CPR. l. 16 *ὄδε*, *ὠδέ* RSVd. cxvi. l. 2 *ἐσήμει*, *ἐσήμει* ABRd, *ἐσημίει* CP. So the MSS. give *διεξή(ι)ει*, l. 22. l. 13 *μουνόθεν* τάδε AB, *μουνοθέντα* δέ RV, *μουνωθέντα* τάδε CP, *μουνωθέντα* δὴ Wesseling. cxviii. l. 2 *ἐνείχε* H. Stephanus, *ἐνείχεε*. cxix. l. 11 *εὔτυκτα* A²B in margin, RSVd, *εὔτυκα* A¹BCP. cxx. l. 34 *ἐνωρῶμεν* Lhardy, *ἐωρῶμεν*. l. 35 *φλαῦρον* Rd, *φαῦλον*. cxxiii. l. 1 *ἀνδρευμένῳ*, *οο=εν*, cp. *δικαίουσι* c. 133, *ἀξιεύμεναι* c. 199, and note on c. 4. Cp. also *ἐδικαίεν* (-ου in A), c. 100, where *οε=εν*. Smyth, § 690, regards these forms as hyper-Ionisms and would expel them from the text. l. 2 *ἀνδρησιότατῳ*, *ἀνδρεισιότατῳ* MSS. l. 4 *ἐνώρα* edd., *ἐνέωρα*. l. 18 *βιβλίον*, *βιβλίον* PRSVd, so in cxxiv. l. 3. cxxiv. l. 16 *ἀποδεχθῶ*, *ἀποδεχθῶ* ABCP, *ἀποδειχθῶ* RSVd. cxxv. l. 3 *εὔρισκέ τε* Askew MS. in Univ. Libr. Cambridge, *εὔρισκε* RSV, *εὔρισκεται*. l. 4 *καὶ ἐποίηε δὴ* Askew MS., *ἐποίηε δὴ*. cxxvi. l. 10 *τῶντῷ*, *τῷ τῷ* R, *τῶντῶν* ABC. *ἔθνε*, *ἔθνεσε* AC. cxxvii. l. 6 *ἦξι*, *ἦξει* RSVd. cxxix. l. 5 *ἐθόινγησε*, *ἐθόινισεν* RSVd. l. 9 *ἐωυτοῦ* δὴ ABC, *δὴ ἐωυτοῦ* PRSV. l. 15 *δεῖν*, *δέον* ABC. cxxx. l. 2 *κατεπαύσθη*, *κατεπαύθη* RSVd. Smyth, § 635. cxxxi. l. 14 *Ἀλιλάτ* restored by Selden from iii. 8. *Ἄλιττα* MSS, an error due to the termination of *Μύλιττα*. cxxxii. l. 14 *πάντα* (τά) *κρέα* Valckenaer. cxxxxvi. l. 9 *τοῦδε* (δέ) Schweighäuser. cxxxxviii. l. 10 *ἐξελαύνουσι*, *καὶ ἐλαύνουσι* C. cxl. l. 5 *ἐλκυσθῆ*, *ἐλκυσθῆναι* ABCP. l. 7 *δὲ ὦν* Stein, *δὴ ὦν*. l. 13 *ὄφεις*, *ὄφεις* MSS., an Atticism. cxli. l. 2 *κατεστράφατο* A², *κατεστρέφατο* ABP. l. 5 *αὐτῶν*, *αὐτέων* ABP, a hyper-Ionism. *προῖσχοντο* cod. Paris. 134 suppl., the rest *προ(σ)έσχοντο*. l. 12 *ἐκβαίνειν ὄρχεόμενοι*, *ἐκβαίνοντες ὄρχέεσθαι* H. Richards, *Class. Rev.* XIX. 291 who quotes a number of cases where words in MSS. exchange terminations, e.g. c. 192, l. 15. cxlii. l. 5 *ὄστε... ἐσπέρην* bracketed by Stein. l. 16 *σφίσι*, *σφὶ* MSS. cxliiii. l. 7

δὴ Stein, δέ. cxlv. l. 6 γε Dobree, τε. l. 7 ἀίναός, ἀένναός B, ἀέναός ACP. In c. 93, l. 19 ἀίναον all MSS. cxlvi. l. 8 Ὀρχομένιοι σφι Herold, Ὀρχομενίοισι(ν). cxlvii. l. 6 δὴ Herold, δέ. clii. l. 8 οὐκ ἐσήκουν Naber, οὐκως ἤκουν. cliii. l. 8 ὀμνύντες Bekker, ὀμοῦντες MSS. l. 11 στησάμενοι Stein, cp. vi. 58, κτησάμενοι MSS. clvii. l. 4 οἶχετο, ὦ(ι)χετο MSS. l. 6 οὐκ, οὐχ MSS. l. 13 ἀνοῖσαι Bredow, ἀνώσαι. clviii. l. 6 ὀρμημένου Stein, ὀρρωμένου AB, -εωμένου C, -εομένου P. clxiii. l. 9 δὴ Aldus, δέ. clxv. l. 17 ἀναφανῆναι Reiske, ἀναφήναι. clxvi. l. 11 νέες, νῆες MSS. clxvii. l. 2 lacuna noted by Reiske. l. 3 πλέους, πλείους MSS. clxviii. l. 4 Θρηκῆς Bekker, Θρηκίης. clxx. l. 6 ἀερθέντας Aldus, αἰρεθέντας. clxxi. l. 1 οὔτοι Schaefer, οὔτω. clxxii. l. 10 δέ Aldus, δὴ. clxxiii. l. 23 ἀνανεμείται AB, ἀνανεμέεται. clxxiv. l. 5 Κνίδιοι <οἱ> Bekker. l. 7 Βυβασσίης Is. Vossius, Βυβλεσίης. l. 15 ἐγένετο AB, ἐγένετο CP. clxxvi. l. 3 ἐπεξίοντες Bekker, ὑπεξ. MSS. l. 9 ἐπεξεληθόντες Bekker, ὑπεξ. MSS. clxxviii. l. 3 ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν ACP. clxxix. l. 2 ἔτι φράσαι Bekker, ἐπιφράσαι. clxxx. l. 5 μὲν Gronovius, ἦεν ABP, εἶεν C. τε μεγάλῳ καὶ P, τε μεγάλῳ τε καὶ the rest. l. 11 μέχρι, μέχρις MSS. clxxxii. l. 3 ἀπαύεσθαι Aldus, ἀναπαύεσθαι. clxxxiii. l. 8 ἐπ' οὐ Stein, ὅπου. clxxxv. l. 6 <ἀλλ'> added by Bekker. l. 15 [ἐς] bracketed by Schweighäuser. l. 26 ὀρώρυκτο Bekker, ὠρυκτο. clxxxvii. l. 14 γραμμάτων Naber, χρημάτων. clxxxviii. l. 5 ἐσκευασμένος Schweigh., -μένοισ(ι) MSS. cxci. l. 21 οἱ δ' ἂν Fr. Palm, οὐδ' ἂν ABCP, οὐ μὲν RSV. cxcii. l. 15 μέτρον ἐστὶ Π. χωρέον RSVd. cxciii. l. 26 ποιεῦνται RSV. cxcvi. l. 2 κατεστᾶσι, κατεστᾶσι or κατεστᾶται MSS., but ἐστᾶσι occurs over 20 times in MSS. without variant. Smyth, § 694. l. 18 διεξέλθοι Bergler, οἱ ἐξέλθοι. l. 20 εἶη Stein, ἦι AB, εἶ (sup. ἦ) C, ἦε PRV, ἦν S. l. 29 μὲν, μὴν MSS. ἀπάγεσθαι Gronov., ἀνάγεσθαι. cxcvii. l. 2 κατέστηκε Schaefer, κατεστήκεε. cc. l. 7 ἔδει Diels, ἔχει. cciv. l. 5 <τούτου> Herold. l. 12 διαφυγείν MSS. ccvi. l. 8 πάντα S, πάντως. εἰ, ἦν ABC. ccvii. l. 6 παθήματα R, παθήματα τὰ the rest. l. 26 ὑπεξίωσι Stein, διεξίωσι. ccx. l. 4 ἀμείβεται d, ἀμείβει' οἱ RVS, ἀμείβεται οἱ rell. ccxii. l. 13 δὲ μὴ ταῦτα CP. οὐ correction in AB. σὺ μὴ S, σὺ rell. l. 14 μὲν MSS. ccxiv. l. 12 περιεγενέατο ABCP, cp. c. 4, l. 9. ccxvi. l. 17 ἵπποισι SV, cp. c. 50, l. 7.

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΚΛΕΙΩ.

BOOK I.

The subject and purpose of the history.

I. Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέος ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἤδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεέα γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην 5 ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

Legendary causes of the quarrel between the Greeks and the Barbarians (cc. 1—5). Io, Europa, Medea.

Περσέων μὲν νῦν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς· τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ οἰκῆσαντας τούτον τὸν χῶρον τὸν καὶ 10 νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίησι μακρῆσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τε ἄλλῃ [χώρῃ] ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος. τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τούτου τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασιν τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη ἡ χώρῃ. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς 15 Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο,

ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν
 θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ
 20 τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὖνομα εἶναι, κατὰ
 τὸν τὸ καὶ Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχου.
 ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ὠνέεσθαι τῶν
 φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα, καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας
 διακελευσαμένους ὀρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ
 25 πλεῦνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν
 ἄλλησι ἀρπασθῆναι· ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα
 οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου. II. οὕτω
 μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ
 ὡς Ἑλληνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τοῦτο
 ἄρξαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνων τινάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι
 5 τοῦνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον
 προσσχόντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα
 Εὐρώπην. εἶησαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ
 ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφι γενέσθαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλληνας
 αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρας ἀδικίης γενέσθαι. καταπλώ-
 10 σαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηὶ ἐς Αἶαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ
 ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, ἐνθεῦτεν, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ
 τὰλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως
 τὴν θυγατέρα Μηδείην. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχων
 βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς
 15 ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτέειν τὴν θυγατέρα· τοὺς δὲ
 ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσαν
 σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς· οὐδὲ ὦν αὐτοὶ δώσειν
 ἐκείνοισι.

The rape of Helen and the invasion of Asia by the Greeks.

III. Δευτέρη δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου ἀκηκούτα ταῦτα ἐθελήσαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι. οὕτω δὲ ἀρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην 5 τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δόξαι πρῶτον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δὲ προῖσχομένων ταῦτα προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν, ὡς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων βουλοιάτό σφι παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνε- 10 σθαι. IV. μέχρι μὲν ὧν τούτου ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἕλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι· προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μὲν νυν ἀρπάζειν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν 5 ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθεισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ἀνοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὄρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθεισέων σωφρόνων· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἠρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομενέων 10 τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἠγή- σασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν 15 γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα οἰκηιοῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἠγῆνται κεχωρίσθαι.

Herodotus refuses to judge between conflicting legends and sets out from an historical fact, the aggression of Croesus, king of Lydia, upon the Greeks.

V. Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι εὐδυσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσησι οὕτω Φοίνικες· οὐ
 5 γὰρ ἀρπαγῇ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἄργει ἐμίσητο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθε ἔγκυος εὐδυσά, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας, οὕτω δὴ ἐθελουτὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλώσαι, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος
 10 γένηται. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω
 15 τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστυα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιῶν. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν σμικρὰ γέγονε, τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ὦν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τῷ τῷ μένουσαν ἐπιμνήσομαι
 20 ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

History of Lydia (cc. 6—94). Croesus was the first Barbarian who subdued Greeks.

VI. Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίας μεταξὺ Συρίων (τε) καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξιεῖ πρὸς βορρῆν ἀνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου

καλεόμενον πόντον. οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος βαρβάρων 5
 πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο
 Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους
 προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἴωνάς τε καὶ
 Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ
 προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου 10
 ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι. τὸ γὰρ
 Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον,
 Κροίσου ἐὼν πρεσβύτερον, οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο
 τῶν πολιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆ.

*How Croesus' family, the Mermnadae, ousted the Hera-
 cleidae from the throne of Lydia (cc. 7—13).*

VII. ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω περιήλθε, εὐῶσα Ἡρα-
 κλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ
 Μερμνάδας. ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλου
 ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου
 τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἄγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου 5
 τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο
 Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὕστατος. οἱ δὲ
 πρότερον Ἄγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας
 ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος, ἀπ' ὅτε οὗτος ὁ δῆμος
 Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μητίων καλεό- 10
 μενος. παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες
 ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς
 Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ
 δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν, ἕτα πέντε τε καὶ
 πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν 15
 ἀρχὴν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.

Candaules, the last of the Heracleidae, puts a slight upon his wife.

VIII. οὗτος δὴ ὢν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἔρασθεις δὲ ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου
 5 ἄρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικός ὑπερεπαινέων. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλη γενέσθαι κακῶς, ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγῃν τοιάδε· Γύγῃ,
 10 οὐ γάρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαί μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδους τῆς γυναικός (ὧτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἔοντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποίει ὅκως ἐκείνη θεήσεται γυμνήν. ὁ δὲ μέγα ἀμβώσας εἶπε· Δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγία, κελεύων με δέσποιναν
 15 τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τόδε ἐστί, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην,
 20 καὶ σεο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων. IX. ὁ μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν. ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· Θάρσει, Γύγῃ, καὶ μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμέ, ὥς σεο πειρώμενος
 5 λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μὴ τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος· ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθείσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὀπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω· μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα

παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. κείται δὲ 10
 ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων
 κατὰ ἐν ἕκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην
 πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 θρόνου στείχη ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν κατὰ νότου τε αὐτῆς
 γένη, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅπως μὴ σε ὄψεται 15
 ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων. X. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο
 διαφυγεῖν, ἦν ἔτοιμος· ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε
 ὦρῃ τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα,
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ· ἐσελθοῦσαν
 δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἴματα ἐθῆετο ὁ Γύγης. ὡς δὲ 5
 κατὰ νότου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην,
 ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾶ μιν ἐξιόντα.
 μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε
 αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νόφ' ἔχουσα
 τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, 10
 σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι, καὶ
 ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

*The outraged queen forces Gyges to slay Candaules and
 to marry her. Gyges becomes king, is strengthened in
 his kingdom by the Delphic oracle, and so founds the
 dynasty of the Mermnadae.*

XI. τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην
 εἶχε· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων
 τοὺς μάλιστα ὦρα πιστοὺς εἶοντας ἐωυτῇ, ἐτοίμους
 ποιησαμένη ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων
 αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἦλθε καλεόμενος· 5
 ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅπως ἡ βασιλεία καλέοι,
 φοιτᾶν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκητο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε·
 Νῦν τοι δυῶν ὀδῶν παρεουσέων, Γύγη, δίδωμι αἴρεσιν,

ὀκοτέρην βούλει τραπέσθαι· ἡ γὰρ Κανδαύlea
 10 ἀποκτείνας ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιλήην ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν.
 ἡ αὐτὸν σε αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ, ὡς ἂν μὴ
 πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλη τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μὴ
 σε δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἦτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλευσάντα
 δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἡ σὲ τὸν ἐμέ γυμνὴν θεησάμενον καὶ
 15 ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα. ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν
 ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἰκέτευε μὴ μιν
 ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἴρεσιν. οὐκ
 ὦν δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ' ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκει-
 μένην ἡ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἡ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων
 20 ἀπόλλυσθαι· αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα
 δὴ λέγων τάδε· Ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν
 ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω, τέω καὶ
 τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ. ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη·
 Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὄρμη ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ
 25 ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνὴν, ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπι-
 χείρησις ἔσται. XII. ὡς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν,
 νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ μετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν
 ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἔδεε ἡ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι
 ἡ Κανδαύlea) εἶπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί.
 5 καὶ μιν ἐκείνη ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ
 τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυομένου
 Κανδαύlew ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε
 καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλήην Γύγης· [τοῦ
 καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γε-
 10 νόμος, ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη]· XIII. ἔσχε
 δὲ τὴν βασιλήην καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι
 χρηστηρίου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο
 τὸ Κανδαύlew πάθος καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν
 5 ἐς τῶντ' οἱ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ

Λυδοί, ἦν μὲν δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἦν δὲ μή, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνεῖλέ τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε μέντοι ἐπέειπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὡς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἦξει 10 ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοί τε καὶ οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

Gyges (B.C. 716—678) sends offerings to Delphi and attacks Miletus, Smyrna, Colophon. He is succeeded by Ardys (B.C. 678—629).

XIV. τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννέουσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, παρέξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν 5 ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρές οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται. ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθεί δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστί 10 ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίεω, Φρυγίης βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἔοντα 15 ἀξιοθέητον· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος, τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην. XV. ἐσέβαλε

μέν νυν στρατιήν καὶ οὗτος, ἐπεῖτε ἤρξε, ἔς τε
 Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστν
 εἶλε. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἔργον
 5 ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυνῶν δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα
 ἔτα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες.
 Ἄρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος
 μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἶλε ἐς
 Μίλητόν τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος
 10 Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἠθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν
 νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ
 Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἶλον.

Sadyattes (B.C. 629—617). *Alyattes* (B.C. 617—560)
attacks the Medes, expels the Cimmerians from Asia
Minor, and wars against Miletus. His army acci-
dentally sets on fire the temple of Athena Assesia.

XVI. Ἄρδυος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα
 πεντήκοντα ἔτα ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος,
 καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ἔτα δώδεκα, Σαδυάττειω δὲ Ἀλυάτ-
 τῆς. οὗτος δὲ Κναξάρη τε τῷ Δηιόκεω ἀπογόνῳ
 5 ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίους τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας
 ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος κτισθεῖσαν
 εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων
 οὐκ ὡς ἠθελε ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως.
 ἀλλὰ δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγη-
 10 τότατα τάδε. XVII. ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παρα-
 δεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων
 γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ὄκως
 μὲν εἶη ἐν τῇ γῆ καρπὸς ἀδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε
 5 τὴν στρατιήν· ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ
 πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικῆιου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου. ὡς

δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπικοίτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ
 τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὔτε
 θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἕα δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἐστάναι· ὁ δὲ τά
 τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως 10
 διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης
 οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι
 ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ
 Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμώμενοι
 τὴν γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, 15
 αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι
 ἐσβάλλον. XVIII. ταῦτα ποιέων ἐπολέμεε ἕτεα
 ἔνδεκα, ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων
 ἐγένετο ἐν τε Λιμενηίῳ χώρῃ τῆς σφετέρῃς μαχεσα-
 μένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. τὰ μὲν νυν ἐξ ἕτεα
 τῶν ἔνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε 5
 ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλον τῆνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν
 στρατιήν. οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας·
 τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι ἐξ Ἄλυάττης
 ὁ Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμεε, ὃς παραδεξάμενος, ὡς καὶ
 πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν 10
 πόλεμον προσεῖχε ἐντεταμένως. τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι
 οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον
 ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μῦνοι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνταποδιδόντες
 ἐτιμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι
 Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν. 15
 XIX. τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτει ληίου ἐμπιπραμένου
 ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι
 πρῆγμα· ὡς ἄφθη τάχιστα τὸ λήιον, ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον
 ἄφατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀσσησίης, ἀφθεῖς
 δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν λόγος 5
 οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς

Σάρδις ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρης δέ οἱ
 γινομένης τῆς νούσου πέμπει ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους,
 εἴτε δὴ συμβουλευσάντος τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε
 10 πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρέσθαι περὶ τῆς νούσου.
 τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη
 χρήσειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορθώσωσι,
 τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρας τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῶ.

*Periander gives information to Thrasybulus tyrant of
 Miletus, who tricks the Lydians into making peace.
 Alyattes builds two temples instead of one to Athena
 Assesia.*

XX. Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι·
 Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστιθείσι τούτοισι, Περίανδρον
 τὸν Κυψέλου ἔοντα Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου
 τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ
 5 χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γερόμενον, πέμψαντα
 ἄγγελον κατειπεῖν, ὅπως ἂν τι προειδῶς πρὸς τὸ
 παρεὸν βουλευῆται. XXI. Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω
 λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δέ, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγ-
 γέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον βουλόμενος
 σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι
 5 χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομή. ὁ μὲν δὴ
 ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν, Θρασύβουλος δὲ
 σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ
 Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· ὅσος
 ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστει σῖτος καὶ ἐωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικός,
 10 τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προεῖπε
 Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνη, τότε πίνειν τε
 πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρᾶσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους. XXII. ταῦ-
 τα δὲ ἐποίηε τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε

εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν δὴ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείησι ἔοντας ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλυάττῃ. τὰ δὴ καὶ 5 ἐγένετο· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἰδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ εἶπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπήλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἢ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδείην τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν 10 λεῶν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους, ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ ἢ τε διαλλαγή σφι ἐγένετο ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ 15 συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἑνὸς νηοὺς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῶ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίου τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττη ὦδε ἔσχε.

Periander, tyrant of Corinth (B.C. 625—585), and the story of the minstrel Arion.

XXIII. Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας. ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου· τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστήναι, Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον 5 ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἔξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἔοντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἔόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ. XXIV. τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, 10 τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ, ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ

Σικελίην, ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελήσαι
 5 ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὀρμᾶσθαι μὲν νυν
 ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον
 ἢ Κορινθίοισι μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κο-
 ρινθίων· τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν
 Ἄριονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα· τὸν δὲ
 10 συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφι προϊέντα,
 ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτεόμενον. οὐκ ὦν δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν
 τούτοισι, ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν
 διαχρᾶσθαι μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῆ τύχη, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν
 ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην. ἀπειληθέντα δὴ τὸν
 15 Ἄριονα ἐς ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ σφι οὕτω
 δοκέοι, περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ στάντα ἐν
 τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι ἀείσαι· ἀείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν
 κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδουὴν εἰ
 μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ,
 20 ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσην νέα. τὸν δὲ
 ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν
 κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι διεξελθεῖν νόμον
 τὸν ὄρθιον, τελευτώντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥίψαί μιν ἐς τὴν
 θάλασσαν ἑωυτὸν ὡς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. καὶ
 25 τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ δελφίνα
 λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀπο-
 βάντα δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ
 καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περίαν-
 δρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἄριονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν
 30 οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων· ὡς
 δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτούς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι
 λέγοιεν περὶ Ἄριονος. φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἶη
 τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην καὶ μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν
 ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἄριονα ὥσπερ ἔχων

ἔξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι 35
 ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνέεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Κορίνθιοί
 τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἄριονος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα
 χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐπεὶ
 ἀνθρώπος.

*On the death of Alyattes, Croesus (B.C. 560—546)
 ascends the throne of Lydia. He subdues the Ionians
 and Aeolians.*

XXV. Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους
 πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας
 ἕτεα ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγῶν τὴν
 νοῦσον δεύτερος οἴτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφοὺς
 κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον 5
 σιδήρεον κολλητόν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν
 Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, ὃς
 μῦθος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν
 ἐξεῦρε.

XXVI. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω ἐξεδέξατο
 τὴν βασιλίην Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἐὼν
 ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα, ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοισι
 ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορ-
 κεύμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, 5
 ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔστι
 δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο,
 καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. πρῶτοισι μὲν δὴ
 τούτοισι ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει
 ἐκάστοισι Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοισι ἄλλας 10
 αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζονας παρευ-
 ρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ
 φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων.

*He proposes to build a fleet to attack the islanders,
but is deterred by Bias.*

XXVII. ὥς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἕλληνας
κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγῆν, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν
ἐπενόεε νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι νησιώ-
τησι. ἐόντων δὲ οἱ πάντων ἐτοιμῶν ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην,
5 οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς
Σάρδις, οἱ δὲ Πιπτακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου
Κροῖσου εἶ τι εἶη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα
τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην. ὦ βασιλεῦ,
νησιῶται ἵππον συνωνέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδις τε
10 καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες στρατεύεσθαι. Κροῖσον
δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκείνου ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν· Αἱ γὰρ
τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ
Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι. τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα
φάναι· ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεται εὔξασθαι
15 νησιώτας ἵππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἠπείρῳ, οἰκότα
ἐλπίζων· νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὔχεσθαι ἄλλο ἢ,
ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι
ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρᾶσθαι Λυδοὺς ἐν
θαλάσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ οἰκημένων
20 Ἑλλήνων τίσωνταί σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις;
κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ οἱ,
προσφυέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι
τῆς ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι
Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

The greatness of his kingdom attracts the wise men of Greece, including Solon, to Sardis.

XXVIII. χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων· πλὴν γὰρ Κιλικίων καὶ Λυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε, Λυδοί, Φρύγες, Μυσοί, Μαρ- 5
 ιαν-δουνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήκες οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριέες, Αἰολέες, Πάμφυλοι· XXIX. κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι, ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἱ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύχα-
 νον ἔοντες, ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ 5
 καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἕτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῆ λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἰοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι· ὀρκίοισι γὰρ 10
 μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα ἕτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῆται.

After seeing the royal treasures Solon is asked by Croesus who is the happiest of men, and replies, "Tellus the Athenian."

XXX. αὐτῶν δὴ ὦν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆκετο παρὰ Ἀμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροίσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ὑπὸ

5 τοῦ Κροίσου· μετὰ δέ, ἡμέρη τρίτη ἢ τετάρτη, κελεύσαντος Κροίσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περι-
 ἦγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυροὺς καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα
 ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὄλβια. θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ
 πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον, ὡς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἶρετο
 10 ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε· Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ
 σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται πολλὸς καὶ σοφίης [εἴκενεν] τῆς
 σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφέων γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίας
 εἶνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὦν ἕμερος ἐπειρέσθαι μοι
 ἐπῆλθε εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὄλβιώτατον. ὁ μὲν
 15 ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὄλβιώτατος ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα,
 Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔοντι χρη-
 σάμενος λέγει· ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον.
 ἀποθωμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἶρετο ἐπι-
 στρεφέως· Κοίη δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὄλβιώτατον;
 20 ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Τέλλω τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἠκούσης
 παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοί, καὶ σφι εἶδε ἅπασι
 τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα, τοῦτο δὲ
 τοῦ βίου εὖ ἤκουσι, ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, τελευτὴ τοῦ
 βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθη-
 25 ναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίनि
 βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε
 κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν
 αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.

*Next to Tellus in happiness are Cleobis and
 Biton of Argos.*

XXXI. ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο
 ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἶπας πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια,
 ἐπειρώτα, τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἐκείνον ἴδοι, δοκέων

ἕσπετος (ὁ Κροῖσος)

πάγχυ δευτερεΐα γῶν οἴσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Κλέοβίν
 τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοισι γὰρ εὐοῦσι γένος Ἄργείοισι 5
 βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπὴν καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ῥώμη σώματος
 τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ
 δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος· εὐούσης ὀρτῆς τῇ Ἑρῆ
 τοῖσι Ἄργείοισι ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν
 ζεύγει κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, οἱ δὲ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ 10
 ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὄρῃ· ἐκκληθόμενοι δὲ τῇ
 ὄρῃ οἱ νεηνῖαι ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην
 εἶλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δὲ σφι ὠχέετο ἡ
 μήτηρ, σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσαερίκοντα διακο-
 μίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν. ταῦτα δὲ σφι ποιήσασι 15
 καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου
 ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεὸς ὡς
 ἄμεινον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν.
 Ἄργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιῶν
 τὴν ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἄργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἷων 20
 τέκνων ἐκύρησε. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρῆς εὐούσα τῷ τε
 ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, σταῖσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος
 εὔχετο Κλέοβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι τοῖσι ἐωυτῆς τέκνοισι,
 οἳ μιν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ
 τυχεῖν ἀριστόν ἐστι. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ὡς 25
 ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ
 τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνῖαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τέλει
 τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἄργεῖοι δὲ σφῶν εἰκόνας ποιησά-
 μενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων
 γενομένων.

Croesus being angered at these replies, Solon discourses to him on the mutability of human happiness.

XXXII. Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε· ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἢ δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδέν, ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν 5 ἀξιους ἡμέας ἐποίησας; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ παραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων πέρι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἔστι ἰδεῖν τὰ μή τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομή-
 10 κοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζόης ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι. οὗτοι ἔοντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἑβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου· εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τοῦτερον τῶν ἑτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ
 15 αἱ ὥραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλια πεντήκοντα. τούτων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα, ἑουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ
 20 διηκοσιέων καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων, ἢ ἑτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅμοιον προσάγει πρῆγμα. οὕτω ὦν, ὦ Κροῖσε, πᾶν ἔστι ἀνθρώπος συμφορῆ. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μέγα φαίνεται καὶ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων·
 25 ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρέό με οὐ κῶ σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερός ἐστι, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο πάντα

καλὰ ἔχοντα εὖ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοί εἰσι, πολλοὶ δὲ 30 μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος, ἀνόλβιος δὲ δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μῦνον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνολβίου πολλοῖσι· ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατώτερος, ὁ δὲ τοῖσδε 35 προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἢ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστι, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθῆς κακῶν, εὐπαις, εὐειδής· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκείνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις ὄλβιος 40 κεκλήσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι· πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον, ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. τὰ πάντα μὲν νυν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον εἶντα ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, ὥσπερ χώρα οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωυτῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει, ἑτέρου δὲ 45 ἐπιδέεται· ἢ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλείστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐταρκές ἐστι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι. ὅς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα ἔχων διατελέῃ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο, ὧ 50 βασιλεῦ, δίκαιός ἐστι φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρῆ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτὴν κῆ ἀποβήσεται· πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε. XXXIII. ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὐκ ὡς οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθία εἶναι, ὅς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὄραν ἐκέλευε.

Croesus dreams that his son Atys will die by the blow of a spear, and takes precautions against the calamity.

XXXIV. Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δέ οἱ εὔδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην
 5 ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες, τῶν οὔτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν ἡλικῶν μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος· οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Ἄτυς. τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ
 10 ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ βληθέντα. ὁ δὲ ἐπίειτε ἐξηγέρθη καὶ ἐωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδί γυναικα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε, ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δόρατα
 15 καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέωνται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεῶνων ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδί ἐμπέση.

Adrastus the Phrygian is cleansed by Croesus from the pollution of murder.

XXXV. ἔχοντος δέ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χειῖρας, ἐὼν Φρυγῆ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιληίου. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ
 5 Κροῖσου οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ

παραπλησίη ἢ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι
 Ἑλλησι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος,
 ἐπυρθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε·
 Ὠνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐὼν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἦκων 10
 ἐπίστιος ἐμοὶ ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν
 ἐφόνευσας; ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίεω μὲν
 τοῦ Μίδεώ εἰμι παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ Ἄδρηστος,
 φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων πάριμι
 ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος 15
 πάντων. Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· Ἄνδρῶν
 τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἕκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς
 φίλους, ἔνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων
 ἐν ἡμετέρου. συμφορὴν δὲ ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα
 φέρων κερδανέεις πλείστον. 20

*Distressed by the ravages of a great boar, the Mysians
 request Croesus to send his son to their assistance.*

XXXVI. ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροῖσου,
 ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ
 υἱὸς χρῆμα γίνεται μέγα· ὀρμώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ
 ὄρεος τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρσκει,
 πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες ποιέεσκον 5
 μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος
 δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἀγγελιοὶ
 ἔλεγον τάδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, υἱὸς χρῆμα μέγιστον
 ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει.
 τοῦτον προθυμέομενοι ἐλείν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὦν 10
 προσδεόμεθά σευ τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ
 κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς
 χώρας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο, Κροῖσος δὲ

μνημονεύων τοῦ ὄνειρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε·
 15 Παιδὸς μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ
 ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμφαιμι· νεόγαμός τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ
 ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ
 κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμφω καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι
 ἰοῦσι εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξελεῖν ὑμῖν τὸ
 20 θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρας.

*With much difficulty Atys obtains permission
 to hunt the boar.*

XXXVII. ταῦτα ἀμείψατο. ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ
 τούτοισι τῶν Μυσῶν ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου
 παῖς ἀκηκοὺς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ
 τοῦ Κροίσου τὸν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμφειν λέγει
 5 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε· ὦ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα
 πρότερόν κοτε καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἔς τε πολέμους
 καὶ ἔς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν. νῦν δὲ ἀμφο-
 τέρων με τούτων ἀποκληίσας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην
 μοι παριδῶν οὔτε ἀθυμίην. νῦν τε τέοισί με χρῆ
 10 ὄμμασι ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνε-
 σθαι; κοῖος μὲν τις τοῖσι πολιήτησι δόξω εἶναι, κοῖος
 δὲ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοῖω δὲ ἐκείνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ
 συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέτεσ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην,
 ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅκως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω
 15 ποιεόμενα. XXXVIII. ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσδε·
 ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδῶν
 τοι ποιέω· ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μοι ὄψις ὄνειρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ
 ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι· ὑπὸ γὰρ
 5 αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν
 ταύτην τὸν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ

παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ
 κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζόης διακλέψαι.
 εἰς γάρ μοι μῦθος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ
 δὴ ἕτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ εἶναί μοι 10
 λογιζομαι. XXXIX. ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσδε·
 Συγγνώμη μὲν ὦ πάτερ τοι, ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην,
 περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις, ἀλλὰ
 λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμέ τοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν.
 φῆς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς φάναι ἐμὲ 5
 τελευτήσειν· υἱὸς δὲ κοῖαι μὲν εἰσι χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ
 αἰχμῆ σιδηρῆ τὴν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ
 ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὅ τι
 τούτῳ οἴκε, χρῆν δὴ σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ
 αἰχμῆς. ἐπίετε ὦν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται 10
 ἢ μάχη, μέτεσ με. XL. ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος· ὦ
 παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾶς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ
 ἐνυπνίου· ὡς ὦν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω
 μετήμῃ τέ σε ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην.

*Adrastus accompanies Atys as his protector, but
 inadvertently kills him with a spear.*

XLI. εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται
 τὸν Φρύγα Ἄδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ λέγει τάδε·
 Ἄδρηστε, ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τὴν
 τοι οὐκ ὄνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος
 ἔχω παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην· νῦν ὦν, ὀφείλεις γὰρ 5
 ἐμεῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς σὲ χρηστοῖσί με
 ἀμείβεσθαι, φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρήζω
 γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὀρμωμένου, μή τινες κατ' ὄδον
 κλώπες κακούργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ὑμῖν. πρὸς

10 δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σέ τοι χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρυνέαι τοῖσι ἔργοισι· πατρώϊόν τε γάρ τοί ἐστι καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη ὑπάρχει. XLII. ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἦια ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῆδε κεχρημένον οἶκός ἐστι ἐς ὀμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἰέναι, οὔτε τὸ
 5 βούλεσθαι πάρα, πολλαχῇ τε ἂν ἰσχον ἐμεωυτόν. νῦν δέ, ἐπεῖτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι) ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα, παῖδά τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα
 10 τοι ἀπονοστήσειν. XLIII. τοιούτοισι ἐπεῖτε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦισαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νεηνίησι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὀλυμπον τὸ ὄρος ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εὐρόντες δὲ
 5 καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνου, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν ἕν τῷ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός. ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὄνειρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθεε
 10 δέ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδός μόρον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ.

*Croesus curses but afterwards pardons Adrastus,
 who slays himself at Atys' tomb.*

XLIV. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδός συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέετο ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε. περιημεκτέων δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον,

μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθῶς εἶη, ἐκάλεε 5
 δὲ ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἑταιρήιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνο-
 μάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι
 ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξείνον' φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε
 βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἑταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας
 αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι πολεμιώτατον. XLV. παρήσαν δὲ 10
 μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν, ὅπισθε δὲ
 εἶπετό οἱ ὁ φονεύς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ
 παρεδίδου ἑωυτὸν Κροῖσῳ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας,
 ἐπικατασφάζαι μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τὴν τε 5
 προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνη τὸν
 καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη, οὐδέ οἱ εἶη βιώσιμον.
 Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τε Ἄδρηστον κατοικ-
 τεῖρει, καίπερ ἔων ἐν κακῷ οἰκῆίῳ τοσοῦτῳ, καὶ λέγει
 πρὸς αὐτόν· Ἐχω, ὦ ξεῖνε, παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν 10
 δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἰς δὲ
 οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων
 ἐξεργάσαο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι
 προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι. Κροῖσος μὲν νυν
 ἔθαψε, ὡς οἶκός ἦν, τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα· Ἄδρηστος δὲ 15
 ὁ Γορδίῳ τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεύς μὲν τοῦ
 ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος, φονεύς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος,
 ἐπεῖτε ἡσυχίη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα,
 συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἦδεε
 βαρυσυμφωρότατος, ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἑωυ- 20
 τόν.

Desirous of curbing the power of the Persians, Croesus first makes trial of the oracles.

XLVI. Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει
 μεγάλῳ κατῆστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος· μετὰ δὲ ἡ
 Ἄστυάγειος τοῦ Κναξάρεω ἡγεμονίῃ κατααιρεθεῖσα
 ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων
 5 πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέ-
 παυσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν
 μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν
 αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν
 ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν μαντηίων τῶν τε
 10 ἐν Ἑλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, διαπέμφσας ἄλλους
 ἄλλη, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς
 Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπέμποντο
 παρά τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρά Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς
 Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ
 15 μαντήια ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λι-
 βύης δὲ παρά Ἀμμωνα ἀπέστειλλε ἄλλους χρησομέ-
 νους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηίων ὅ τι
 φρονόειεν, ὡς εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείην εὔρεθείη,
 ἐπείρηταί σφρα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ
 20 Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι. XLVII. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ
 τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν
 χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὀρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων,
 ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον
 5 ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, ἐπειρω-
 τῶντας ὅ τι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς
 Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω· ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν
 χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψάμενους ἀναφέρειν
 παρ' ἑωυτόν. ὅ τι μὲν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων

ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι 10
ὡς ἐσηλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησό-
μενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ
Πυθίη ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε·

οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα
θαλάσσης,

καὶ κωφοῦ συνήμι καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω. 15

ὁδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης

ἐψομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἄμ' ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσιν,

ἡ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπίεσται.

ἐπιέννυμ

*He is pleased with the answer of the Pythia and judges the
Delphic oracle to be the only true one with the exception
of that of Amphiaraus.*

XLVIII. ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς
Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι οἷχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς
Σάρδεις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρήσαν
φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἕκαστα
ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων. τῶν μὲν 5
δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν· ὁ δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν
ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο,
νομίσας μόνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ
ἐξευρήκεε τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε
παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν 10
κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ
ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην
καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἦψε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι
χαλκῷ χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς. XLIX. τὰ μὲν
δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν
Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηίου ὑπόκρισιν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅ

τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἶρόν τὰ
 5 νομιζόμενα (οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται) ἄλλο γε ἦ
 ὅτι καὶ τοῦτον ἐνόμισε μαντήιον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

*He sends magnificent offerings to the god at
 Delphi and to Amphiaraus.*

Λ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν
 Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο· κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα
 πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ
 ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα
 5 καὶ κιθῶνας νήσας πυρῆν μεγάλην κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων
 τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσί
 τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τοῦτο ὅ τι
 ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεά-
 μενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυσε,
 10 ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἑξατάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τὰ βραχύτερα τριτάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα,
 ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων
 ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἑκα-
 στον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ,
 15 σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα
 χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἔλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα.
 οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεῖτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηός,
 κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι
 ἴδρυτο) καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ,
 20 ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ
 αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον. ΛΙ. ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ
 Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς καὶ τάδε ἄλλα
 ἅμα τοῖσι· κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσειον
 καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσειος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιά

ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. 5
 μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα,
 καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κείται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων
 θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν εἵνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ
 ἔτι δυώδεκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου
 τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικί- 10
 νεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δὲ μιν
 Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ
 δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι.
 καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ
 ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια 15
 δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ
 χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι
 ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο
 Κροῖσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαι-
 μονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος 20
 τὸ οὐνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ
 τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μὲν-
 τοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. ἄλλα τε ἀνα-
 θήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοισι ὁ
 Κροῖσος καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ 25
 γυναικὸς εἶδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυν, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς
 ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροῖσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς
 δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε
 ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας. LII. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς
 Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω, πυθόμενος
 αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε
 χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν
 χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστόν τῆσι λόγχῃσι ἐὸν ὁμοίως χρύσειον· 5
 τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβησι καὶ
 Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

Croesus is told by the oracles that he will destroy a great kingdom, and warned against the time when a mule shall become king of the Medes.

LIII. Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθείτο φίλον. ὡς δὲ
 5 ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι λέγοντες· Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήια εἶναι μούνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν
 10 ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾶ εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθείτο σύμμαχον. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντηῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τῶντὸ αἰ γινῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροῖσῳ, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν
 15 καταλύσειν· τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι. LIV. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην πέμψας αὐτῆς
 5 ἐς Πυθῶν Δελφοὺς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἀνδρα δύο στατήρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροῖσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηίην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ
 10 χρόνον. LV. δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτον. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντηίου ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ.

ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυχρόνιος
ἔσται ἢ μοναρχίη. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε. 5

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφίδα παρ'
"Ερμον

φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

Croesus wishes to ally himself with the most powerful of the Greeks.—Here follows a digression on the Athenians and Lacedaemonians (cc. 56—68).

LVI. τούτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος
πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἦσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον
οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων, οὐδ' ὦν
αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαι κοτε τῆς ἀρχῆς.
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἀν' Ἑλλήνων 5
δυνατωτάτους ἔοντας προσκτῆσαιτο φίλους. ἱστο-
ρέων δὲ εὔρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους
προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ
Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα (ἔθνεα), ἔοντα
τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικόν 10
ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῆ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ
πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος
βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ
Ἑλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον
χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώ- 15
τιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ
Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν
Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς
Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

The language of the Pelasgians and of the Greeks.

LVII. ἦντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν· εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐούσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἱ ὅμουροί 5 κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι, οἴκειον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην, καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἴκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔοντα πολίσματα 10 τὸ οὐνομα μετέβαλε, εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀπτικὸν ἔθνος ἐὼν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ 15 οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφεας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι, δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἠνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. LVIII. τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλῶσση μὲν, ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο, αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι· ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐὼν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ 5 σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρμώμενον αὔξεται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρὸς δὴ ὧν ἔμοιγε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὔξηθῆναι.

History of Athens (cc. 59—64). *Peisistratus, whose birth is heralded by a portent, makes himself tyrant of Athens* (B.C. 560).

LIX. Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἴπποκράτεος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἴπποκράτει γὰρ εἰσὶν ἰδιώτη καὶ θεωροῦντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας 5 ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες καὶ κρεῶν τε εἶντες ἔμπλοιοι καὶ ὕδατος ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔζεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχῶν καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἴπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα μὴ 10 ἄγεσθαι τεκνοποιὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἴ τις οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι. οὐκ ὧν ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἴπποκράτεια· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρα- 15 τον τοῦτον, ὃς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου (τοῦ) Ἀριστολαΐδew, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν, συλλέξας δὲ στασιώ- 20 τας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστὰς μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· τρωματίσας ἐωυτόν τε καὶ ἡμιόνοους ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος ὡς ἐκπεφευγῶς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οἳ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν, ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ 25 κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένη στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε ἐλὼν καὶ ἄλλα

ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν
 Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἔδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέ-
 30 ξας ἄνδρας, τούτους οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο
 Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ· ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας
 ἔχοντες εἶποντό οἱ ὄπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ
 οὔτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα
 δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς
 35 τὰς εἰσάσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας, ἐπί
 τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς
 τε καὶ εὖ.

*He is expelled by the combined factions of Megacles and
 Lycurgus, but comes to an arrangement with Megacles
 and returns by means of a trick.*

LX. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τῶντὸ φρονή-
 σαντες οἳ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέος στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ
 Λυκούργου ἐξελαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος
 ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὗ
 5 κω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε, οἱ δὲ ἐξελά-
 σαντες Πεισίστρατον αὐτὶς ἐκ νέης ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι
 ἐστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσι ὁ Μεγα-
 κλέης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ
 τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐν-
 10 δεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τού-
 τοισι Πεισιστράτου μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ
 πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῶ, ἐπεὶ γε
 ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ
 Ἑλληνικὸν εἶναι καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐηθείης ἡλιθίου
 15 ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὔτοι ἐν
 Ἀθηναίοισι τοῖσι πρῶτοισι λεγομένοισι εἶναι Ἑλλή-

νων σοφίην μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίει ἦν γυνή, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής. ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες 20 πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι ἔχουσα ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες, οἱ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἠγόρευον ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε· ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, 25 δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν αὐτὴ ἢ Ἀθηναίη τιμῆσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφοιτούντες ἔλεγον, αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει, καὶ (οἱ) ἐν τῷ 30 ἄστει πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἀνθρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

Megacles again brings about his expulsion. He retires to Eretria and collects money and troops.

LXI. ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέος τὴν θυγατέρα. οἶα δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμεω- 5 υιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἐμίσητο οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μὲν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἢ γυνή, μετὰ δέ, εἴτε ἱστορεύσῃ εἴτε καὶ οὐ, φράζει τῇ ἑωυτῆς μητρί, ἢ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. τὸν δὲ δεινόν τι ἔσχε ἀτιμάζεσθαι πρὸς 10

Πεισιστράτου. ὀργῇ δὲ ὡς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτησι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιούμενα ἐπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο
 15 ἅμα τοῖσι παισί. Ἰππίεω δὲ γνώμη νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἤγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων αἰτινές σφι προαιδέοντό κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα Θηβαῖοι ὑπερεβάλλοντο τῇ δόσι τῶν χρημάτων.
 20 μετὰ δέ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφυ καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον. καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ Νάξιός σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐβελοντής, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λύγδαμις, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας
 25 καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας.

He lands at Marathon, gains a decisive victory at Pallene and firmly secures his power (B.C. 538). He purifies the island of Delos.

LXII. ἐξ Ἐρετρίας δὲ ὀρμηθέντες διὰ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτους ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω. καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἴσχουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευομένοισι οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιῶται
 5 ἀπίκοντο, ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρεον, τοῖσι ἢ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίας ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἳ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἤγειρε, καὶ μεταῦ-
 10 ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω δὲ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ

οὔτοί τε πανστρατιῇ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τὼντὸ συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἶρὸν καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο 15 τὰ ὄπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείη πομπῇ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, ὅς οἱ προσιῶν χρεῶ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε λέγων·

ἔρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέ-
 τασται,

20

θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.

LXIII. ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρεῶ τάδε, Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπήγε τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ 5 μὲν πρὸς κύβους, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσι· φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλήν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτεχνᾶται, ὅκως μῆτε ἀλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν. ἀναβιβάσας 10 τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους προέπεμπε. οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπιέναι ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. LXIV. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισί τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων, ὀμήρους 5 τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον

(καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμῳ), πρὸς τε ἔτι τούτοισι
 10 τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὦδε· ἐπ' ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ
 χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρεε ἐς
 ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν
 ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηνέων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ
 15 ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ' Ἀλκμεωνιδέων ἔφεν-
 γον ἐκ τῆς οἰκῆις.

History of Sparta (cc. 65—68), which was the worst-governed Greek state until the constitution of Lycurgus.

LXV. Τοὺς μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν
 χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπυρθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς
 δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας
 καὶ ἐόντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεατέων.
 5 ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν
 Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχεόντες οἱ
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνοισι προσέπταιον.
 τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν
 σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ
 10 ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι. μετέβαλον δὲ ὦδε ἐς εὐ-
 νομίην· Λυκούργου τῶν Σπαρτητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς
 ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήμει ἐς
 τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθύς ἢ Πυθίῃ λέγει τάδε·

ἦκεις, ὦ Λυκούργε, ἐμὸν ποτὶ πῖονα νηὸν
 15 Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.
 δίζω ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον·
 ἀλλὰ τι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν, ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκούργε.
 οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοις λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ

τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησι, ὡς δ' αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκούργον ἐπιτρο- 20
πεύσαντα Λεωβώτew, ἀδελφιδέου μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, βασι-
λεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι
ταῦτα. ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ
νόμιμα πάντα καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν.
μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκά- 25
δας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοισι τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ
γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκούργος.

*Made restless by prosperity the Spartans attack Tegea,
but suffer ignominious defeat.*

LXVI. οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ
δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι σέβονται
μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἔν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ
ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνή-
θησαν. καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, 5
ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκαδίων κρέσσονες εἶναι
ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκαδίων
χώρῃ. ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφι χρᾶ τάδε·

Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς; μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὐ τοι
δώσω.

10

πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,
οἷ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοι οὔτι με-
γαίρω.

δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι
καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

15

ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
Ἀρκαδίων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέιχοντο, οἱ δὲ πέδας
φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ

κιβδήλω πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἔξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς
 20 Τεγεήτας. ἔσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν
 ἔζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ
 καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων
 ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὐταὶ ἐν τῆσι ἐδεδέατο ἔτι
 καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς
 25 Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

*The Delphic oracle promises them success, if they
 bring to Sparta the bones of Orestes.*

LXVII. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον
 συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας,
 κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξαν-
 δρίδεώ τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίην ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
 5 ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγό-
 νεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῶδε γενόμενοι· ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ
 πολέμῳ ἔσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρό-
 πους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι
 κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο. ἡ δὲ
 10 Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε τὰ Ὁρέστω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος
 ὅστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὡς δὲ ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἰοί τε
 ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὁρέστω, ἔπεμπον αὐτὶς
 τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο
 Ὁρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι
 15 λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε·
 ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίας Τεγέῃ λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,
 ἔνθ' ἀνεμοὶ πνεῖουσι δὺν κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
 καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κείται.
 ἔνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα·
 20 τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση.

ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπέειχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὐδὴ Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλομένων Σπαρτητέων ἀνεῦρε. οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσι (οἱ) τῶν ἀστῶν ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἑκά- 25 στου· τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἰππέων, Σπαρτητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινύειν ἄλλους ἄλλη.

The Spartan Lichas finds the bones at Tegea and bringing them home secures victory to his countrymen (B.C. 554).

LXVIII. τούτων ὦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγῆ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ. εὐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήιον ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον καὶ ἐν θώματι ἦν ὁρῶν τὸ ποιούμενον. 5 μαθὼν δέ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου· Ἦ κου ἂν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιούμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, 10 ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῷ ἐπταπήχει· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἀνοιξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἔοντα τῇ σορῷ. μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω. ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὀπώπεε, ὁ δὲ ἐνώσας τὰ λεγόμενα 15 συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος· τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὀρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὔρισκε ἔοντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν τὸν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ

20 ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιούνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. συμβαλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντές οἱ
 25 αἰτίην ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκία ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας οἴχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ
 30 ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅπως πειρώατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῷ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἤδη δὲ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

Croesus forms an alliance with the Spartans who make him a present of a great bronze bowl, which however fails to reach him.

LXIX. Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον· Ἐπεμψε
 5 ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνέων βασιλεύς, λέγων τάδε· ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἕλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὦν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι φίλος τε
 10 θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκη-

ρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον ἤσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξι τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὄρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ συμμαχίης· καὶ γὰρ τινες (ἐς) αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι 15 εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγонуῖαι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἴδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος, Κροῖσος δὲ σφί ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτίνην. 20

LXX. Τούτων τε ὧν εἴνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἰρέετο φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι ἐπαγγείλαντι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον ζωδίων τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαντες 5 περὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ μεγάθει τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἤγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ. οὗτος ὁ κρητῆρ οὐκ ἀπίκητο ἐς Σάρδις δι' αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπεῖτε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ὁ κρητῆρ 10 ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νηυσὶ μακρῆσι ἐπιπλώσαντες· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπεῖτε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἠλωκέσαι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα 15 ἐν Σάμῳ, ἰδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραιον· τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων.

*Croesus marches against the Persians, regardless
of the counsel of Sandanis.*

LXXI. Κατὰ μὲν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτως ἔσχε, Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροί-
5 σου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὖνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε· οὖνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι
10 παρασκευάζει, οἱ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας, σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθήτα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔχουσι, χῶρην ἔχοντες τρηχέαν. πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἴνω διαχρέωνται, ἀλλὰ ὑδροποτέουσι, οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.
15 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφεας ἀπαιρήσειαι, τοῖσί γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δέ, ἦν νικηθῆς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις. γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξονται οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιέουσι
20 Πέρσησι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδούς. ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσησι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδούς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἀβρὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

The Cappadocians and the river Halys.

LXXII. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοοι, τότε

δὲ Κύρου. ὁ γὰρ οὖρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς Λυδίας ὁ Ἄλυς ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου 5 ὄρεος διὰ Κιλικῶν, μετὰ δὲ Ματιηνοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου Φρύγας, παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίου Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἄλυς ποταμὸς ἀποτάμνει 10 σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον· ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπάσης· μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται.

Croesus attacked Cyrus partly to avenge his brother-in-law, Astyages the Mede, whose marriage with Aryenis, daughter of Alyattes, had ended a war between Lydia and Media, rendered memorable by an eclipse of the sun, which Thales foretold (B.C. 585).

LXXIII. Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἵνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἰμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἐὼν καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν 5 Κναξάρῳ, ἐόντα Κροῖσου μὲν γαμβρόν, Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσειω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρόν Κροῖσῳ ᾧδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον 10 Μήδων Κναξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω, ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὐ ὡς ἐόντας ἰκέτας, ἄστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεόμενος αὐ-

τούς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθεῖν
 15 καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου καὶ
 αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην καὶ αἰεὶ τι
 φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνεικε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδέν·
 νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινῆσι χερσὶ ὁ Κναξάρης (ἦν
 γάρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὄργην οὐκ ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περι-
 20 ἔσπε ἀεικείη. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κναξάρειω παθόντες,
 ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεποινθότες, ἐβούλευσαν
 τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἓνα κατακόψαι,
 σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία
 σκευάζειν, Κναξάρη δοῦναι φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν,
 25 δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα
 τὸν Σαδυάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ
 γὰρ Κναξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν
 κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιή-
 σαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἰκέται ἐγένοντο. LXXIV. μετὰ
 δὲ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς
 Σκύθας ἐξαιτέοντι Κναξάρη, πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι
 καὶ τοῖσι Μῆδοισι ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἕτερα πέντε, ἐν τοῖσι
 5 πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν,
 πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μῆδους· ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτο-
 μαχίην τινὰ ἐποίησαντο· διαφέρουσι δὲ σφι ἐπὶ ἴσης
 τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἕκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης συνή-
 νεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξα-
 10 πίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην
 τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγό-
 ρευσε ἔσεσθαι, οὖρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν
 τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἢ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ
 Μῆδοι ἐπεῖτε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένην, τῆς
 15 μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ
 ἀμφοτέροι εἰρήνην ἐωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβι-

βάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἶδε, Συέννεσις τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ
 Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον
 οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν
 ἐποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν 20
 θυγατέρα Ἀρύνην Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κναξάρειω παιδί·
 ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσιες ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ
 ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. ὄρκια δὲ ποιέεται ταῦτα τὰ
 ἔθνεα τὰ πέρ τε Ἕλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι, ἐπεὰν
 τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμονται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ 25
 αἶμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

Croesus crosses the Halys.

LXXV. Τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος
 ἔοντα ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε
 δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοισι σημανέω.
 τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἔς τε τὰ
 χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ 5
 δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδηλοῦ, ἐλπίσας πρὸς
 ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν
 Περσέων μοῖραν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκητο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυ
 ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω,
 κατὰ τὰς εἰσάσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν, ὡς 10
 δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος
 διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροῖσου ὅπως οἱ διαβή-
 σεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατός (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι
 κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας) λέγεται
 παρεόντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ 15
 τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ
 καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥεῖν, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε· ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρα-
 τοπέδου ἀρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρίσσειν, ἄγοντα

μνηοειδέα, ὅκως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰδρυμένον κατὰ
 20 νώτου λάβοι, ταύτη κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος
 ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥέεθρων, καὶ αὐτὶς παραμειβόμενος τὸ
 στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι, ὥστε ἐπέιτε καὶ
 ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβατὸς ἐγένετο.
 οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον
 25 ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσί-
 μαι· κῶς γὰρ ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν;

After an indecisive battle with Cyrus in the district of Pteria he retires to Sardis and summons his allies.

LXXVI. Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπέιτε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ
 στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην
 καλεομένην (ἣ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης
 τὸ ἰσχυρότατον κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ
 5 πόντῳ μάλιστά κη κειμένη) ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο
 φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους. καὶ εἶλε μὲν
 τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἠνδραποδίσατο, εἶλε
 δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας, Συρίους τε οὐδὲν
 ἔοντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ
 10 ἀγείρας τὸν ἑωυτοῦ στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς
 μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας ἠντιοῦτο Κροίσῳ. πρὶν δὲ
 ἐξελαύνειν ὀρμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, πέμψας κήρυκας
 ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπειρᾶτό σφεας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστά-
 ναι. Ἴωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο, Κῦρος δὲ ὡς
 15 ἀπίκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα
 ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χώρῃ ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν
 ἀλλήλων. μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόν-
 των ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες
 διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατό-

πεδα ἀμφοτέρα οὕτως ἠγωνίσασατο. LXXVII. Κροί- 20
 σος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἔωυτοῦ στράτευμα
 (ἦν γάρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ
 ὁ Κύρου) τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ
 ἐπειράτω ἐπιῶν ὁ Κύρος, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἐν 5
 νόῳ ἔχων παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ
 ὄρκιον (ἐποίησατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα
 Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἢ περ πρὸς Λακεδαι-
 μονίους), μεταπεμφθὴς δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ
 γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποιήτο συμμαχίην, ἐτυ- 10
 ράννενε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Λα-
 βύνητος), ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι παρῆναι
 ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν, ἀλίσας τε δὴ τούτους καὶ τὴν ἔωυτοῦ
 συλλέξας στρατιὴν ἐνένωτο τὸν χειμῶνα παρῆς ἅμα
 τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν 15
 ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἔπεμπε
 κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον
 μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις· τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ
 μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσησι, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός,
 πάντα ἀπείσ διεσκέδασε, οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μὴ κοτε 20
 ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κύρος ἐλάση
 ἐπὶ Σάρδεις.

A prodigy at Sardis.

LXXVIII. ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προά-
 στειον πᾶν ὀφίων ἐνεπλήσθη. φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ
 ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι, φοιτέοντες
 κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὡσπερ καὶ ἦν,
 ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς 5
 τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησέων. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι

θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει
σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι·
πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις
10 ἦλῶ ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μέντοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν,
στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ
τὴν χώραν, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι
τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα,
ἵππον δὲ πολέμιόν τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μὲν
15 νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἠλωκότι, οὐδέν
κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδεις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

*Cyrus unexpectedly arrives in Lydia, by clever tactics
defeats Croesus and shuts him up in Sardis.*

LXXIX. Κῦρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροῖ-
σου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ,
μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν
τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος εὔρισκε πρῆγμά οἱ εἶναι
5 ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναίτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, πρὶν ἢ
τὸ δεύτερον ἀλισθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν.
ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίηε κατὰ τάχος· ἐλάσας
γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἄγγελος
Κροίσῳ ἐληλύθει. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην
10 πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ
πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκει, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς
ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος
οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρηότερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώ-
τερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἢ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων,
15 δόρατά τε ἐφόρειον μεγάλα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι
ἀγαθοί. LXXX. ἐς τὸ πεδῖον δὲ συνελθόντων
τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεός ἐστι τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὼν

μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ὑλλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἑρμον, ὃς ἐξ ὄρεος ἱροῦ μητρὸς 5 Δινδυμήνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φώκαιαν πόλιν) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε Ἀρπάγου ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου τοιόνδε· ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἑωυτοῦ εἶποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ 10 σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας πάσας ἀλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεα ἀνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προῖέναι πρὸς τὴν Κροΐσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἔπεςθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν 15 ἐκέλευε, ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ὡς δὲ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον, Κροΐσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ταῦτα μὲν 20 παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· κάμηλον ἵππος φοβέεται καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτῆς ὀρέων οὔτε τὴν ὀδμὴν ὀσφραϊνόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκεν ἐσεσόφιστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροΐσῳ ἄχρηστον ἦ τὸ ἱππικόν, τῷ δὲ 25 τι καὶ ἐπέιχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνήσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ὠσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτάς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροΐσῳ ἢ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν, ἀλλ' 30 ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσησι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί, κατει-

ληθέντες δὲ εἰς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν
35 Περσέων.

Croesus again summons his allies, amongst others the Spartans, who are at this time at war with the Argives about Thyrea but nevertheless prepare to send him succour.

LXXXI. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκεε πολιορκίη, Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τεύχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους εἰς τὰς συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον διεπέμποντο
5 εἰς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι εἰς Σάρδις, τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθέειν ὡς πολιορκεομένου Κροίσου. LXXXII. ἔς τε δὴ ὧν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκεε
5 ἔρις ἐοῦσα πρὸς Ἀργείους περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης. τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας ἐούσας τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλεῶν ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἡ τε ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ χώρα καὶ ἡ Κυθηρὴ νῆσος καὶ αἱ
10 λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένη, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν εἰς λόγους συνελθόντες ὥστε τριηκοσίους ἐκατέρων μαχέσασθαι, ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χῶρον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκάτερον
15 εἰς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἵνα μὴ παρεόντων τῶν στρατοπέδων ὀρῶντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἐσσομένους τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπαμύνοιεν.

συνθέμενοι ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογάδες δὲ ἑκατέ-
 ρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δέ σφεων
 καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν 20
 ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκίηωρ τε καὶ
 Χρομῖος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ Ὀθρυάδης· ὑπελείφθησαν
 δὲ οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν
 Ἀργείων ὡς νευικηκότες ἔθρον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, ὁ δὲ τῶν
 Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυάδης σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων 25
 νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ
 στρατόπεδον ἐν τῇ τάξει εἶχε ἑωυτόν. ἡμέρη δὲ
 δευτέρῃ παρήσαν πυνθανόμενοι ἀμφότεροι. τέως μὲν
 δὴ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν
 ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλεῦνες περιγεγόνασι, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν 30
 ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμεί-
 ναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκροὺς. τέλος
 δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο· πεσόντων
 δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι.
 Ἀργεῖοι μὲν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμε- 35
 νοι τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποι-
 ῆσαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν
 κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκας σφι
 χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον· οὐ γὰρ 40
 κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἕνα
 λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων, Ὀθρυά-
 δην, αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην τῶν
 οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῆσι
 Θυρέησι καταχρήσασθαι ἑωυτόν. LXXXIII. τοιού- 45
 των δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων
 ἦκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κῆρυξ δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθέειν
 πολιορκεομένῳ. οἱ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπεῖτε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ

5 κήρυκος, ὀρμέατο βοηθέειν. καὶ σφι ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐτοίμων ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη ὡς ἠλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὲ οὗτοι μὲν συμφορῆν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην ἐπέπαυτο.

The capture of Sardis (B.C. 546). Croesus' life is saved by his dumb son.

LXXXIV. Σάρδιες δὲ ἠλώσαν ὧδε· ἐπειδὴ τεσσερεσκαιδεκάτῃ ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ διαπέμψας ἰππέας προεῖπε τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τεύχους
 5 δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς, ὡς οὐ προεχώρει, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἑτροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ
 10 τοῦτο μὴ ἀλῶ κοτέ. ἀπότομός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων μούνη οὐ περιήνεικε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τεῖχος ἔσονται
 15 Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ὡς ἐὸν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμῶλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. ὁ ὦν δὲ Ἑτροιάδης οὗτος ὁ Μάρδος ἰδὼν τῇ
 20 προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο. τότε δὲ

δὴ αὐτός τε ἀνεβεβήκεε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον· προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστνυ ἐπορθέετο. 25

LXXXV. κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγίνετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς, ἄφωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὧν παρελθούση εὐεστοῖ ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκεε ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφούς περὶ αὐτοῦ 5 ἐπεπόμφεε χρησομένους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε·

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε, μὴ βούλευ πολύευκτον ἰὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λώιον ἀμφὶς ἔμμεναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβω. 10 ἄλισκομένου δὴ τοῦ τείχεος, ἦμε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ὀρέων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκεε, οὐδέ τί οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφωνος ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν 15 Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δέ· "Ὀνθρωπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον. οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγγετο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆς.

Croesus being taken prisoner is condemned by Cyrus to be burnt alive. He calls on the name of Solon. Cyrus thereupon changes his purpose and the flames of the pyre are extinguished by a miraculous storm of rain.

LXXXVI. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζώγησαν, ἄρξαντα ἔτεα τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν

5 έωυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ
 Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ συννήσας πυρὴν
 μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν
 πέδησι δεδεμένον καὶ δις ἐπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ' αὐτὸν
 10 γιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεω δὴ, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων,
 εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα τοῦδε
 εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι
 εἰ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυ-
 θῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα, τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ
 15 ἐστεῶτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ
 εἶναι τοσοῦτω, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, ὡς οἱ εἶη σὺν θεῷ
 εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζῶντων ὄλβιον. ὡς
 δὲ ἄρα μιν προσστήναι τοῦτο, ἀνεεικάμενόν τε καὶ
 ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἠσυχίης ἐς τρεῖς ὀνομάσαι
 20 'Σόλων.' καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς
 ἐρμηneas ἐπειρέσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικα-
 λέοιτο, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν. Κροῖσον
 δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτώμενον, μετὰ δέ, ὡς
 ἠναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν· Τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι
 25 προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.
 ὡς δὲ σφι ἄσημα ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτων τὰ λεγόμε-
 να. λιπαρέοντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλον παρεχόντων
 ἔλεγε δὴ ὡς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ
 θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν έωυτοῦ ὄλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε
 30 οἷα δὴ εἶπας, ὡς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ
 ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς έωυτὸν λέγων ἢ ἐς
 ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι
 αὐτοῖσι ὄλβίους δοκέοντας εἶναι. τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον
 ταῦτα ἀπηγέεσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἀμμένης καίεσ-
 35 θαι τὰ περιέσχατα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν

ἐρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννώ-
 σαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον,
 γενόμενον ἐωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζῶντα
 πυρὶ διδοίῃ, πρὸς τε τούτοισι δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ
 ἐπιλεξάμενον ὡς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφα- 40
 λέως ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ
 καιόμενον πῦρ καὶ καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ
 τοὺς μετὰ Κροῖσου. καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ δύνα-
 σθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι. LXXXVII. ἐν-
 θαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν
 Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ὡς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεν-
 νύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν,
 ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τί 5
 οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστῆναι καὶ
 ῥύσασθαι μιν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν
 δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε
 καὶ νηνεμίας συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμῶνά
 τε καταρραγῆναι καὶ ὑσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατα- 10
 σβεσθῆναι τε τὴν πυρὴν. οὕτω δὲ μαθόντα τὸν
 Κύρον ὡς εἶη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλῆς καὶ ἀνὴρ
 ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέ-
 σθαι τάδε· Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ
 γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου 15
 ἐμοὶ καταστῆναι; ὁ δὲ εἶπέ· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα
 ἔπραξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακο-
 δαιμονίῃ· αἴτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς
 ἐπάρας ἐμὲ στρατεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητός
 ἐστι ὅστις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ 20
 τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ
 πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμονί κου φίλου
 ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι.

Croesus gives counsel to Cyrus respecting the captured city.

LXXXVIII. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν
 λύσας κατεῖσέ τε ἐγγὺς ἑωυτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ
 προμηθίῃ εἶχε, ἀπεθώμαζε τε ὀρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ
 περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἔόντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίῃ ἐχόμενος
 5 ἥσυχος ἦν. μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς τε καὶ ἰδόμενος
 τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστῳ κεραΐζοντας εἶπε·
 ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυγ-
 χάνω ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρή; Κῦρος δὲ μιν
 θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὅ τι βούλοιο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν
 10 εἰρώτα λέγων· Οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τί ταῦτα
 πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐργάζεται; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Πόλιν τε τὴν
 σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει. Κροῖ-
 σος δὲ ἀμείβετο· Οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε
 χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι
 15 τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά.
 LXXXIX. Κύρῳ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος
 εἶπε, μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους εἵρετο Κροῖσον
 ὅ τι οἱ ἐνορήῃ ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε·
 Ἐπίετε με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δοῦλόν σοι, δικαίῳ, εἴ τι
 5 ἐνορῶ πλέον, σημαίνειν σοι. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἔόντες
 ὑβρισταὶ εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι· ἦν ὦν σὺ τούτους περιίδης
 διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα,
 τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι· ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν
 πλείστα κατάσχη, τούτον προσδέκεσθαί τοι ἐπανα-
 10 στησόμενον. νῦν ὦν ποίησον ὧδε, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ
 ἐγὼ λέγω. κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι τῆσι
 πύλῃσι φυλάκους, οἱ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας
 τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρέομενοι ὡς σφεα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει

δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Δίῳ. καὶ σύ τέ σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθή-
σαι βίῃ ἀπαιρέομενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι 15
συγγνόντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια ἐκόντες προήσουσι.

*Croesus complains to the god at Delphi about
the falseness of his oracles.*

XC. ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος ὑπερήδeto, ὡς οἱ
ἐδόκεε εὐ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἐντει-
λάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροισι τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο
ἐπιτελέειν εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε· Κροῖσε, ἀναρτη-
μένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα 5
ποιέειν, αἰτέο δόσιν ἤντινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι
παραντίκα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ὦ δέσποτα, ἐάσας με χαριῇ
μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα θεῶν
μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι, πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ
ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὐ ποιεῦντας νόμος ἐστὶ οἱ. Κῦρος 10
δὲ εἶρετο ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορέων παραιτέοιτο.
Κροῖσος δὲ οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ
διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσιας καὶ
μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ ὡς ἐπαρθεῖς τῷ μαντηίῳ
ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας. λέγων δὲ ταῦτα κατέ- 15
βαινε αὐτὶς παραιτεόμενος ἐπεῖναί οἱ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο
ὄνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ γελήσας εἶπε· Καὶ τούτου
τεύξεται παρ' ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἄν
ἐκάστοτε δέη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμ-
πων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐνετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς 20
πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαι-
σχύνεται τοῖσι μαντηίοισι ἐπάρας Κροῖσον στρα-
τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὡς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου
δύναμιν, ἀπ' ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, δει-

25 κύντας τὰς πέδας· ταῦτά τε ἐπειρωτῶν καὶ εἰ
ἀχαρίστοισι νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι.

The god's answer to the reproaches of Croesus.

XCI. Ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέ-
γουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν
τάδε· Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγεῖν
καὶ θεῶ. Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἁμαρτάδα
5 ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἑρακλειδέων δόλω
γυναικίῳ ἐπισπόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότην καὶ
ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν. προ-
θυμιομένου δὲ Λοξίῳ ὅκως ἂν κατὰ τοὺς παῖδας
τοὺς Κροῖσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ κατ'
10 αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγίνετο παραγαγεῖν
μοίρας. ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐται, ἦνυσέ τε καὶ
ἐχαρίσατό οἱ· τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρ-
δίων ἄλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος ὡς
ὑστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοισι ἀλούς τῆς πεπρωμένης.
15 δεῦτερα δὲ τούτων καιομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπῆρκεσε. κατὰ
δὲ τὸ μαντήιον τὸ γενόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος
μέμφεται· προηγόρευε γὰρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἣν στρατεύηται
ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν. τὸν
δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρῆν εἶ μέλλοντα βουλευέσθαι ἐπει-
20 ρέσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου
λέγοι ἀρχήν. οὐ συλλαβῶν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐδ' ἐπαιει-
ρόμενος ἑωυτὸν αἴτιον ἀποφαινέτω. τῷ καὶ τὸ
τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ [εἶπε] τὰ εἶπε Λοξίης
περὶ ἡμίονου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ
25 Κῦρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυῶν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων
ἐγεγόνεε, μητρὸς ἀμείνου, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου·

ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδῖς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι καὶ ἔνερθε ἐὼν τοῖσι ἅπασι δεσποίνῃ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ συνοίκεε. ταῦτα μὲν ἡ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο 30 τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, οἱ δὲ ἀνήνεικαν ἐς Σάρδις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Κροίσῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγνω ἐωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ.

The offerings of Croesus. (See also cc. 50--52.)

XCII. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχε οὕτω. Κροίσῳ δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μούνα· ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβησι τῆσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλ- 5 λωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἶ τε βόες αἱ χρύσειαι καὶ τῶν κίωνων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνηίης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπὶς χρυσέη μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα, τὰ δ' ἔξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων. τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδησι τῆσι Μιλησίων 10 ἀναθήματα Κροίσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὅμοια τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι. τὰ μὲν νυν ἔς τε Δελφούς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκῆιά τε ἔοντα καὶ τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὃς 15 οἱ πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκεε συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος· Κροῖσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. 20 ἐπεῖτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ

Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφου ἔλκων διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε
 25 ἐς τὰ εἴρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

The marvels of Lydia.

XCIII. Θώματα δὲ γῆ (ἡ) Λυδία ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε
 5 Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαί. οὔροι
 10 δὲ πέντε εἶντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καὶ σφί γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο. καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι
 15 σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι· ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματός εἰσι στάδιοι ἕξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὐρὸς ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα· λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναον εἶναι·
 20 καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτό ἐστι.

The customs and inventions of the Lydians.

XCIV. Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνας, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι. πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. φασὶ 5 δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεώσας ἑωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι. ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι, ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες· ἐπὶ Ἄτυος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδείην ἰσχυρὴν 10 ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι· καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δέ, ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἄκεα δίξησθαι, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 15 πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν· τούτων γὰρ ὧν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκιοῦνται Λυδοί. ποιέειν δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας· τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν σιτέεσθαι παυομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. 20 τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἕτεα δυῶν δέοντα εἴκοσι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακόν, ἄλλ' ἔτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρῶσαι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μονῇ, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν 25 αὐτοῦ λαγχανούσῃ τῶν μοιρέων ἑωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένη τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας καταβῆναι

30 ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθε-
 μένους τὰ πάντα, ὅσα σφι ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα,
 ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν, ἐς ὃ ἔθνεα
 πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικούς,
 ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιος καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι
 35 τοῦδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
 τοῦ βασιλέος τοῦ παιδός, ὅς σφεας ἀνήγαγε. ἐπὶ
 τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένους ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρ-
 σηνοὺς. Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσησι ἐδεδούλωντο.

The rise of Cyrus, the history of the Medes, and how they were conquered by the Persians (cc. 95—130).

The Medes cast off the yoke of Assyria.

XCV. ἘΠΙΔΙΖΗΤΑΙ δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ
 λόγος τὸν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἔων τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν
 κατεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεω τρόπῳ ἠγήσαντο τῆς
 Ἀσίης. ὡς ὦν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι οἱ μὴ βου-
 λόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔοντα λέγειν
 5 λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω, ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου
 καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι. Ἀσσυρίων
 ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντα-
 κόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι·
 10 καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι
 Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι
 τὴν δουλοσύνην ἠλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίηε τῶντὸ τοῖσι Μῆδοισι.

Deioces aspires to despotic power.

XCVI. ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἠπειρον ὧδε αὐτὶς ἐς τυραννίδας περιῆλθον. ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δηϊόκης, παῖς δὲ ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίεε τοιάδε· κατοικημένων 5 τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκει· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἐούσης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐποίεε, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιόν 10 ἐστι. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μῆδοι ὀρῶντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστὴν μιν ἐωυτῶν αἰρέοντο. ὁ δὲ δῆ, οἷα μνώμενος ἀρχὴν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν. ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν 15 πολιητέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῆσι ἄλλησι κώμησι ὡς Δηϊόκης εἶη ἀνὴρ μούνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκουσι γνώμησι, τότε, ἐπέειτε ἤκουσαν, ἄσμενοι ἐφοίτων παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο. XCVII. πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου 20 τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἐόν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐς ἐωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον οὔτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, οὐτ' ἔφη δικᾶν ἔτι· οὐ 5 γὰρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα τοῖσι πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. ἐούσης ὦν ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίης ἔτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τῶντὸ καὶ ἐδίδουσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. 10

ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι· Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἶμεν οἰκέειν τὴν χώραν, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χώρα εὐνομή-
 15 σεται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίας ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα. ταῦτά κη λέγοντες πείθουσι ἑωυτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι.

He is chosen king by the Medes (B.C. 709), builds a capital at Agbatana and surrounds himself with state.

XCVIII. αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων ὄντινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὃ τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε
 5 αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἑωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληϊκῆς οἰκοδομήσαι καὶ κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροισι. ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι· οἰκοδομέουσί τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρας, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων
 10 καταλέξασθαι. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἐν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας τῶν ἄλλων ἦσσον ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων οἰκοδομεί τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερά, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβά-
 15 τανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισί ἐστι ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχέει κολωνὸς ἐὼν ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι
 20 ἐπετηδεύθη, κύκλων ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἐπτά· ἐν

δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλῆα ἔνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί.
 τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστόν ἐστι τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων
 κύκλον μάλιστά κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου
 κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνές εἰσι λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου
 μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκειοι, τετάρτου δὲ 25
 κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. οὕτω πάντων τῶν
 κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἠνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοισι·
 δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοί εἰσι ὁ μὲν καταργυρωμένους,
 ὁ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.
 XCIX. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐωυτῷ τε ἐτείχῃ
 καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον πέριξ
 ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων
 κόσμον τόνδε Δηϊόκης πρώτός ἐστι ὁ καταστησά-
 μενος, μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων 5
 δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὀράσθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός,
 πρὸς τε τούτοισι ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ πτύειν ἀντίον καὶ
 ἅπασιν εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐωυτὸν
 ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὀρῶντες οἱ
 ὀμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οἰκίῃς οὐ 10
 φλαυροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυ-
 πείατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκέοι
 εἶναι μὴ ὀρῶσι. C. ἐπεὶτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε
 καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἐωυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἣν τὸ δίκαιον
 φυλάσσων χαλεπός. καὶ τὰς τε δίκας γράφοντες
 ἔσω παρ' ἐκείνον ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκείνος διακρίνων
 τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς 5
 δίκας ἐποίεε, τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατό οἱ· εἴ τινα
 πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅπως μεταπέμψαιτο,
 κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίει, καὶ οἱ
 κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
 χώραν τῆς ἥρχε.

Deioces is succeeded by Phraortes (B.C. 656), who subdues the Persians, but is slain in a battle against the Assyrians of Nineveh.

CI. Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μόνον καὶ τούτου ἦρξε. ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βούσαι, Παρητακηνοί, Στρούχατες, Ἄριξαντοί, Βούδιοι, Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων
 5 ἔστι τοσάδε. CII. Δηϊόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὃς τελευτήσαντος Δηϊόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν. παραδεξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο μόνων Μήδων ἀρχεῖν,
 5 ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας πρώτοισί τε τούτοισι ἐπεθήκατο καὶ πρώτους Μήδων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα καὶ ἀμφοτέρα ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ' ἄλλου
 10 Ἄσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἱ Νίνου εἶχον καὶ ἦρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἑωυτῶν εὖ ἦκουτες, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτὸς τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι
 15 ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

His son Cyaxares (B.C. 634) reforms the Median army. While besieging Nineveh he is attacked by a host of Scythians from Europe.

CIII. Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κναξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων· καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν

τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, ⁵
 τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς
 ἰππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμιξῆ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπε-
 φυρμένα. οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος
 ὅτε νύξ ἢ ἡμέρη ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τὴν
 Ἄλλος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἔωυτῶ. ¹⁰
 συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἔωυτῶ ἀρχομένους πάντας
 ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν. καὶ οἱ, ὡς
 συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένῳ
 τὴν Νίνον ἐπήλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας, ἦγε δὲ ¹⁵
 αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης Προτοθύεω
 παῖς· οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους
 ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι
 φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἀπίκοντο.
 CIV. ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ
 Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερέων
 εὐζώνῳ ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερ-
 βῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ' ἐν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος
 αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι ⁵
 εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Σκύθαι ταύτη
 ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῶ μακρο-
 τέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον
 ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι
 Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατε- ¹⁰
 λύθησαν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.

The Scythians overrun Asia for 28 years, till at last they are crushed by Cyaxares.

CV. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμμήτιχός σφεας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώροισί τε καὶ λιτῆσι ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλι, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυυθανόμενος εὕρισκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν, ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρόν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι Φοίνικὲς εἰσι οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἔοντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρόν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλεαν νοῦσον. ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτό σφεας νοσέειν, καὶ ὄρᾶν παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέαται, τοὺς καλέουσι ἐνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι. CVI. ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίας ἀνάστατα ἦν. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρον ἔπρησσον παρ' ἐκάστων τὸ ἐκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἤρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῦνας Κναξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον

τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τὴν τε Νίνον εἶλον (ὡς δὲ 10
εἶλον, ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσ-
συρίουσ ὑποχειρίουσ ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυ-
λωνίης μοίρης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κναξάρης μὲν,
Βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι
ἦρξαν, τελευτᾶ.

15

*Astyages becomes king (B.C. 594). In consequence of a
dream he marries his daughter Mandane, not to a
Mede but to a Persian, Cambyses.*

CVII. ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης ὁ Κναξάρεω
παῖς τὴν βασιληίην. καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ
οὔνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην, τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ
ὑπνῷ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτο ὥστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ
πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. 5
ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν μάγων τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι τὸ
ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθῶν.
μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς
ὠραίην Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ
γυναῖκα, δεδοικῶς τὴν ὄψιν, ὁ δὲ Πέρση διδοῖ τῷ 10
οὔνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὔρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἐόντα
ἀγαθῆς, τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῷ ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν
μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου.

*In consequence of a second dream Astyages determines
to slay Mandane's offspring.*

CVIII. Συνοικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς
Μανδάνης ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἶδε ἄλλην
ὄψιν· ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς
ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν

5 Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι
 ὄνειροπόλοισι μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν
 θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα εὐῶσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε
 βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ
 γὰρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν μάγων ὄνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον
 10 ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν
 ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. ταῦτα δὴ ὦν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἄστυ-
 άγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἄρπαγον, ἄνδρα
 οἰκῆσιον καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπί-
 τροπον τῶν ἐωυτοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιάδε· Ἄρπαγε,
 15 πρῆγμα τὸ ἂν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήση,
 μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ
 ὑστέρης σοὶ αὐτῷ περιπέσης. λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη
 ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον· μετὰ
 δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεῳ αὐτὸς βούλει. ὁ δὲ ἀμεί-
 20 βεται· Ὡ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ κω παρείδες ἀνδρὶ
 τῷδε ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν
 μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ' εἴ τοι
 φίλον τοῦτο οὔτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τό γε ἐμὸν
 ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως.

Harpagus, entrusted with this duty, orders Mitradates, a herdsman, to expose the child.

CIX. τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος, ὡς οἱ
 παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ,
 ἦιε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία· παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ
 ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἄστυάγεος ῥηθέντα
 5 λόγον. ἦ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει· Νῦν ὦν τί σοι ἐν
 νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν; ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται· Οὐ τῇ ἐνετέλλετο
 Ἄστυάγης, οὐδ' εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μανεῖται

κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ
 γνώμῃ οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν
 δὲ εἴνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενῆς 10
 ἐστὶ ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρον καὶ
 ἄπαις ἔρσενος γόνου· εἰ δ' ἐθελήσει τούτου τελευτή-
 σαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννίς,
 τῆς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι' ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τι ἢ λείπεται
 τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν 15
 ἀσφαλῆος εἴνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα,
 δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινα Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι
 καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν. CX. ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτίκα
 ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος
 τὸν ἠπίστατο νομᾶς τε ἐπιτηδειοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ
 ὄρεα θηριωδέστατα, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης.
 συνοίκεε δὲ ἐωυτοῦ συνδούλη, οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ 5
 ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε Κυνώ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν,
 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακῶ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι
 σπάκα Μῆδοι. αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν ὀρέων, ἔνθα
 τὰς νομᾶς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς
 βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ 10
 πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου. ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ
 χώρα πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα καὶ ὑψηλὴ
 τε καὶ ἴδῃσι συνηρεφής, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρα
 ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ
 πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπύκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἄρπαγος τάδε· 15
 Κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα
 θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὀρέων, ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα
 διαφθαρεῖη. καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἦν μὴ
 ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτό, ἀλλὰ τῷ τρόπῳ περιποιήσης,
 ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι· ἐπορᾶν δὲ 20
 ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαί ἐγώ.

But the herdsman and his wife bring up the child as their own.

CXI. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἤιε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπίτεξ ἐούσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει
 5 οἰχομένον τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθῶς ὁ Ἄρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπεὶτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ
 10 εἴρετο προτέρη ὅτι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἄρπαγος μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· ὦ γυναῖ, εἰδὼν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότης τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἄρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχεται· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἦια
 15 ἔσω. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὁρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαιρόν τε καὶ κραυγανώμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. Ἄρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδέ με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἴχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη
 20 τῶν ὁρέων, φὰς Ἀστυάγεια εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πόλλ' ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὁρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμη-
 25 μένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἄρπάγου. καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος, ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε

εἶη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσειω
 τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτείνειν· 30
 νῦν τε ὄδε ἐστί. CXII. ἅμα τε ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ
 βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ ὡς εἶδε
 τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἔόν, δακρύσασα καὶ
 λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχρήριζε μηδεμιῇ
 τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναί μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἴός τε εἶναι ἄλλως 5
 αὐτὰ ποιέειν· ἐπιφοιτήσῃν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ
 Ἀρπάγου ἐποψομένους, ἀπολέεσθαί τε κάκιστα ἦν
 μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα,
 δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί
 σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὦδε ποιήσον, εἰ δὴ 10
 πᾶσά γε ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον· τέτοκα γὰρ
 καὶ ἐγὼ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός· τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθεσ,
 τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων
 ἔοντα τρέφωμεν· καὶ οὕτω οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσειαι ἀδικέων
 τοὺς δεσπότας, οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται. 15
 ὅ τε γὰρ τεθνεὼς βασιληῆς ταφῆς κυρήσει καὶ ὁ
 περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχὴν. CXIII. κάρτα
 τε ἔδοξε τῷ βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἡ
 γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίησε ταῦτα. τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανα-
 τώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδοῖ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ
 γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ ἔοντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς 5
 τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον· κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ
 κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημί-
 τατον τῶν ὀρέων τιθεῖ. ὡς δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ
 ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἦμε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα
 προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς 10
 τοῦ Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἕτοιμος εἶναι τοῦ
 παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγος τῶν ἑωυτοῦ
 δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἶδέ τε διὰ τούτων καὶ

ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέ-
 15 θαπτο, τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κῦρον ὀνομασθέντα
 παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἢ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὐνομα
 ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένην.

*Having behaved outrageously to a playmate, the boy is
 brought before Astyages, who recognises him as his
 grandson.*

CXIV. Καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα
 ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόυδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν
 τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἦσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὐται,
 ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῶ. καὶ οἱ παῖδες
 5 παίζοντες εἶλοντο ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν
 τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπὶ κλησιν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε
 τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι,
 τὸν δὲ κού τινα αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ
 δὲ τιμὴ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἐκάστῳ
 10 ἔργον προστάσσω. εἷς δὴ τούτων τῶν παίδων συμ-
 παίζων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμβάρεος παῖς, ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν
 Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ
 Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβεῖν,
 πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παίδων ὁ Κῦρος τὸν παῖδα τρη-
 15 χέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων. ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε
 μετείθη τάχιστα, ὡς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐωυτοῦ παθῶν,
 μᾶλλον *τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς
 τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἠντησε,
 λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γὰρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοῦνομα),
 20 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός.
 ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὀργῇ ὡς εἶχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν
 Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παῖδα ἀνάρσια

πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθέναι, λέγων· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ
 τοῦ σου δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὧδε περιυβρί-
 σμεθα, δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὄμους. CXV. ἀκού- 25
 σας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ
 παιδί τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρεος εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο
 τὸν τε βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παῖδα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ παρήσαν
 ἀμφοτέρω, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης 5
 ἔφη· Σὺ δὴ ἔων τοῦδε τοιούτου ἔοντος παῖς ἐτόλ-
 μησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα ἔοντος πρώτου παρ' ἐμοὶ
 ἀεικείῃ τοιῆδε περισπεῖν; ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὧδε· ὦ
 δέσποτα, ἐγὼ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ
 γάρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὅδε ἦν, παίζοντες 10
 σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι
 εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδειότατος. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι
 παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνη-
 κούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβε τὴν
 δίκην. εἰ ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τευ κακοῦ εἰμι, 15
 ὅδε τοι πάρεμι. CXVI. ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς
 τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήμει ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ὅ τε
 χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς
 ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι, ὅ τε
 χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε 5
 συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ τούτοισι ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφ-
 θογγος ἦν· μόγις δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνευειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων
 ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα, ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μῦνον
 λαβὼν βασανίσῃ· Ἀρτέμβαρες, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω
 ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεισθαι. 10
 τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεα πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἦγον
 ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μῦνος μουνόθεν,
 τάδε αὐτὸν εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθην λάβοι τὸν

15 παῖδα καὶ τίς εἶη ὁ παραδούς. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἔτι εἶναι παρ' ἑωυτῶ. Ἄστυάγης δὲ μιν οὐκ εὔβουλεύεσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι, ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροισι λαμ-
 20 βάνειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἔοντα λόγον. ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεξήιε τῇ ἀληθείῃ χρεώμενος καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῶ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

Astyages questions Harpagus and invites him to a banquet in honour of the child's safety.

CXVII. Ἄστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο, Ἄρπαγῶ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὡς δὲ οἱ παρῆν ὁ Ἄρπαγος,
 5 εἶρετό μιν ὁ Ἄστυάγης· Ἄρπαγε, τέφω δὴ μόρω τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο τὸν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς; ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὡς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἔοντα, οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε·
 10 ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπέων ὅκως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῶ σοὶ εἶην αὐθέντης. ποιέω δὴ ὧδε· καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον,
 15 φὰς σὲ τε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἐψευδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῶδε κατὰ τάδε, ἐντειλάμενος θεῖναί μιν ἐς ἔρημον ὄρος καὶ παραμένοντα

φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε ἦν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ εἶδον δι' ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτω ἔσχε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου, καὶ τοιούτῳ μὲν ἔχρησατο ὁ παῖς. CXVIII. Ἄρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν 25 ἔφαινε λόγον, Ἀστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἶον ἐνεῖχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς, πρῶτα μὲν, κατὰ περ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρήγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγέετο τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ, μετὰ δέ, ὡς οἶον ἐπαλιλλόγητο, κατέβαινε 5 λέγων ὡς περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς. Τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ, ἔφη λέγων, ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως καὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ὡς ὦν τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωντοῦ 10 παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δὲ (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμῇ αὕτη προσκίεται) πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.

*At the banquet Harpagus is served with the flesh
of his own son.*

CXIX. Ἄρπαγος μὲν ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσκνήσας καὶ μεγάλην ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτία οἶον ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνεε καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχησι χρηστῆσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐπέκλητο, ἦγε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἦν γὰρ οἶον παῖς εἷς μῦνος, ἔτεα τρία καὶ 5 δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τούτου ἐκπέμπει, ἵεναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιέειν ὅτι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ. αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρῆς ἔων φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγης δέ, ὡς οἶον ἀτίκετο ὁ

- 10 Ἄρπαγος παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελὼν
 τὰ μὲν ὥπτησε, τὰ δὲ ἤψησε τῶν κρεῶν, εὐτυχτα δὲ
 ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἔτοιμα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τῆς ὥρης γινο-
 μένης τοῦ δείπνου παρήσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες
 καὶ ὁ Ἄρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ
 15 Ἄστυάγει παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπίπλευι μηλείων
 κρεῶν, Ἄρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ, πλὴν
 κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τᾶλλα
 πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέῳ κατακεκα-
 λυμμένα. ὡς δὲ τῷ Ἄρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἄλις ἔχειν τῆς
 20 βορῆς, Ἄστυάγης εἶρετό μιν εἰ ἡσθήη τι τῇ θοίνῃ.
 φαμένον δὲ Ἄρπαγος καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι παρέφερον
 τοῖσι προσέκειτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκα-
 λυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, Ἄρπαγον
 δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν
 25 τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν. πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄρπαγος καὶ
 ἀποκαλύπτων ὄρα τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα· ἰδὼν δὲ
 οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη ἐντός τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἶρετο δὲ
 αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄστυάγης εἰ γινώσκουσι ὅτεν θηρίου κρέα
 βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκουσι ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι
 30 πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδη. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψά-
 μενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἤιε εἰς τὰ
 οἰκία. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίσας
 θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

*The Magians advise Astyages that the boy Cyrus
 is no longer a danger to him.*

CXX. Ἄρπάγῳ μὲν Ἄστυάγης δίκην ταύτην
 ἐπέθηκε, Κύρου δὲ πέρι βουλευῶν ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς
 τῶν μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτη ἔκριναν. ἀπικο-
 μένους δὲ εἶρετο ὁ Ἄστυάγης τῇ ἔκριναν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν. οἱ

δὲ κατὰ ταῦτὰ εἶπαν, λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεῦσαι χρῆν τὸν 5
 παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. ὁ δὲ
 ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσδε· Ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περί-
 εστι, καὶ μιν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ διαιτώμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κόμης
 παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πάντα ὅσα περ οἱ
 ἀληθείᾳ λόγῳ βασιλέες ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας· καὶ γὰρ 10
 δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρους καὶ
 τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας ἦρχε. καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν
 ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν; εἶπαν οἱ μάγοι· Εἰ μὲν
 περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίης
 τινός, θάρσει τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· 15
 οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρξει. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ
 τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἕνια κεχώρηκε, καὶ τά γε τῶν
 ὄνειράτων ἐχόμενα τελῶς ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται. ἀμεί-
 βεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τοῖσδε· Καὶ αὐτός, ὦ μάγοι,
 ταύτῃ πλείστος γνώμην εἰμί, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος 20
 τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον καὶ μοι τὸν παῖδα
 τοῦτον εἶναι δεινὸν ἔτι οὐδέν. ὅμως μὲν γέ τοι συμ-
 βουλευσάτέ μοι εὖ περισκεψάμενοι, τὰ μέλλει
 ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν. εἶπαν
 πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ μάγοι· Ὡ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν 25
 περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστι κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σὴν.
 κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦνται ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον
 περιουσα ἔοντα Πέρσην, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔοντες Μῆδοι
 δουλούμεθά τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς
 Περσέων, ἔοντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ' ἐνεστεῶτος βασιλέος, 30
 ἔοντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμὰς
 πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν
 σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προοπτεόν ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ
 φοβερόν τι ἐνωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἄν σοι προεφράζομεν.
 νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φλαῦρον αὐτοί 35

τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα·
τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς
Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους.

*Cyrus is sent back to Persia and acknowledged
by his real parents.*

CXXI. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἄστυάγης ἐχάρη τε
καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε· ὦ παῖ, σὲ
γὰρ ἐγὼ δι' ὄψιν ὀνείρου οὐ τελήην ἠδίκηον, τῇ
σεωυτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περίεις· νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς
5 Πέρσας, πομποὺς δὲ ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ
ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτρα-
δάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.
CXXII. Ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἄστυάγης ἀποπέμπει τὸν
Κῦρον. νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία
ἐδέξαντο οἱ γεινάμενοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, με-
γάλως ἀσπάζοντο οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε
5 τελευτήσαι, ἰστόρεόν τε ὄτεω τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. ὁ
δὲ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδέναί ἀλλὰ ἡμαρ-
τηκέναί πλείστον, κατ' ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν
ἔωυτοῦ πάθην. ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ
Ἄστυάγεος εἶη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κείθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν
10 πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφῆναι δὲ
ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός, ἥιέ τε ταύτην
αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἣν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ
Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες παραλαβόντες τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο,
ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκέῃ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περιεῖναί σφι ὁ
15 παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων
ἐξέθρεψε. ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε.

Cyrus is urged by Harpagus to stir up a revolt of the Persians against Astyages.

CXXIII. Κύρω δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἔοντι τῶν ἡλικῶν ἀνδρηιοτάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ, προσέκειτο ὁ Ἄρπαγος δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἄστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων. ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ γὰρ ἔοντος ἰδιώτῳ οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἄστυάγεα, Κῦρον δὲ ὀρέων ἐπι- 5 τρεφόμενον ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῆσι ἑωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἔοντος τοῦ Ἄστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ὁ Ἄρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρὴ Κῦρον προστησαμένους 10 Ἄστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐης. κατεργασμένου δὲ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἔοντος ἐτοίμου, οὕτῳ δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ δαιτιωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσησι βουλόμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος δηλώσαι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἄτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομένων, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾶται 15 τοιόνδε. λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ εἶχε, οὕτῳ ἐσέθηκε βυβλίον, γράψας τὰ οἱ ἐδόκεε· ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ δίκτυα δοὺς ἄτε θηρευτῆ τῶν οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστελλε 20 ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν αὐτοχειρὶ μιν διελεῖν καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῖντι παρεῖναι. CXXIV. ταῦτά τε δὴ ὦν ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε. εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βυβλίον ἐνεὸν λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε· Ὡ παῖ Καμβύσειω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορώσι, οὐ 5

γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκευ, σύ νυν Ἄστυάγεα τὸν σεωυτοῦ φονέα τίσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις. τά σε καὶ πάλαι δοκέω πάντα
 10 ἐκμεμαθηθέκναι σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς ἐπρήχθη καὶ οἶα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἄστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα, ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σύ νυν, ἦν βούλη ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆς περ Ἄστυάγης ἄρχει χώρης ταύτης ἀπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας
 15 ἀπίστασθαι στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ Μήδους. καὶ ἦν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἄστυάγεος ἀποδεχθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλει, ἦν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο Ἄστυάγεα καταίρειν
 20 πειρήσονται. ὡς ὦν ἐτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἔοντος, ποίειε ταῦτα καὶ ποίειε κατὰ τάχος

The device by which Cyrus persuaded the Persians to revolt.

CXXV. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεω τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι, φροντίζων δὲ εὕρισκέ τε ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι καὶ ἐποίει δὴ ταῦτα. γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβού-
 5 λετο, ἀλίην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔφη Ἄστυάγέα μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. Νῦν τε, ἔφη λέγων, ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν παρεῖναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον. Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα προ-
 10 γόρευσε. ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένεα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι

ἀπὸ Μήδων· ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὄλλοι πάντες
 ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι· Πασαργάδαι, Μαρίφιοι, Μάσπιοι·
 τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ
 Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ 15
 Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι· ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἷδε·
 Πανθιαλαῖοι, Δηρουσιαῖοι, Γερμάνιοι· οὗτοι μὲν
 πάντες ἀροτῆρές εἰσι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες, Δάοι,
 Μάρδοι, Δροπικοί, Σαγάρτιοι. CXXVI. ὡς δὲ
 παρήσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα
 ὁ Κῦρος (ἦν γάρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης
 ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι πάντη)
 τούτων σφι τὸν χῶρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. 5
 ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον
 ἄεθλον δευτέρᾳ σφι προεῖπε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην
 παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τά τε αἰπόλια
 καὶ τὰς ποιμνας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα
 τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσσας ἐς τῶντὸ ἔθνε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε 10
 ὡς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ οἴνῳ τε
 καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδειοτάτοισι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ
 ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχεε.
 ἐπέειτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἴρετό σφεας ὁ Κῦρος
 κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἶη 15
 αἰρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ
 μέσον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι
 κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεούσαν πάντα ἀγαθὰ.
 παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου
 τὸν πάντα λόγον, λέγων· Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω 20
 ὑμῖν ἔχει· βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἔστι
 τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθὰ, οὐδένα πόνοι δουλο-
 πρεπέα ἔχουσι· μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι
 εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι.

25 νῦν ὧν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θείῃ τύχῃ γεγονὼς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι καὶ ὑμέας ἡγήμαι ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὔτε τᾶλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς ὧν ἐχόντων ὧδε ἀπίστασθε ἀπ' Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην.

Astyages is defeated by Cyrus and taken prisoner.

CXXVII. Πέρσαι μὲν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιούμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἄγγελον
5 ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἤξει παρ' ἐκείνον ἢ Ἀστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὥπλισε πάντας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβῆς ἐὼν Ἄρπαγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην
10 ποιούμενος τά μιν ἑόργεε. ὡς δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσησι συνέμισγον, οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν τε καὶ ἔφευγον. CXXVIII. διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχυρῶς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κῦρῳ· Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὡς Κῦρός γε χαιρήσει. τοσαῦτα εἶπας πρῶτον
5 μὲν τῶν μάγων τοὺς ὄνειροπόλους, οἱ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἄστει τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐσσώθη, καὶ
10 αὐτός τε Ἀστυάγης ἐξωγήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν

Μήδων ἀπέβαλε. CXXIX. ἔοντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγει προσστάς ὁ Ἄρπαγος κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ δείπνον, τό μιν ἐκείνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε, ὅ τι εἶη ἡ 5 ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληίης. ὁ δὲ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντείρετο εἰ ἑωυτοῦ ποιέεται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἄρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα ἑωυτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαιότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον 10 ἔοντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαιότατον μὲν γε, εἰ παρεὼν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δι' ἑωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἄλλῳ περιέθηκε τὸ κρατος, ἀδικώτατον δέ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εἵνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε· εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περιθεῖναι 15 ἄλλῳ τέῳ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαιοτέρου εἶναι Μήδων τέῳ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων· νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτου ἔοντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγευέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἔοντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγευέναι δεσ- 20 πότας.

Cyrus becomes king of the Medes and Persians (B.C. 559).

CXXX. Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὕτω τῆς βασιληίης κατεπαύσθη, Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσησι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω Ἄλνυος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, 5 παρέξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἤρχον. ὑστέρω μέντοι χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέ-

στησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου· ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν μάχη νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος
 10 οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἤρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίας. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἐωυτῷ, ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε. οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμεός τε καὶ τραφεῖς καὶ ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον
 15 τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἴρηται μοι πρότερον. τούτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας ἤρξε.

Customs of the Persians (cc. 131—140). Religious observances.

CXXXI. ΠΕΡΣΑΣ δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοῖσδε χρεωμένους· ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἰδρῦεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ
 5 ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατὰ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι. οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες. θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῆ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ
 10 ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ θύουσι μούνοισι ἀρχῆθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν. CXXXII. θυσίῃ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἴδε κατέστηκε. οὕτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται οὕτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν. οὐ σπουδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐτῷ,

οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλήῃσι. τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστω θύειν 5
 θέλη, ἐς χῶρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτήνος καλέει τὸν
 θεὸν ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίῃη μάλιστα.
 ἑωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὐ οἱ ἐγγίνεται
 ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθὰ, ὁ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσί Πέρσησι κατεύχεται
 εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλεί· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασιν 10
 Πέρσησι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας
 κατὰ μέρεα τὸ ἱρήιον ἐψήσῃ τὰ κρέα, ὑποπύσας
 ποιῆν ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον,
 ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὦν πάντα (τὰ) κρέα. διαθέντος
 δὲ αὐτοῦ μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστὼς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην, 15
 οἴην δὴ ἐκείνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδίην· ἄνευ γὰρ
 δὴ μάγου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπι-
 ισχῶν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα
 καὶ χρᾶται ὅ τι μιν λόγος αἰρέει.

Food and drink.

CXXXIII. ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην
 τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ
 πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἄλλων δικαιοῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν
 τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον
 καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται ὄλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοισι, οἱ 5
 δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτι-
 θέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι
 δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἰλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φασι
 Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσ-
 θαι, ὅτι σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου 10
 ἄξιον, εἰ δέ τι παραφέροίτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι.
 οἴνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται, καὶ σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι
 ἔξεστι. οὐκὶ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μὲν νυν

οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλεύ-
 15 εσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ' ἂν
 ἄδη σφι βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι
 προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλεύονται.
 καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἦν δὲ μὴ
 ἄδη, μετιείσι. τὰ δ' ἂν νήφοντες προβουλεύσονται,
 20 μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.

*Etiquette, relations with foreigners and adoption of
 foreign customs.*

CXXXIV. Ἐντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῆσι
 ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἂν τις διαγνοίῃ εἰ ὅμοιοί εἰσι οἱ συντυγ-
 χάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους
 φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι, ἦν δὲ ἦ οὔτερος ὑποδεέστερος
 5 ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται, ἦν δὲ πολλῷ ἦ οὔτερος
 ἀγεννέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἕτερον.
 τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἐωυτῶν οἰκέοντας
 μετὰ γε ἐωυτούς, δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους, μετὰ δὲ
 κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς
 10 ἐωυτῶν ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομί-
 ζοντες ἐωυτούς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα
 ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον [τῷ λεγομένῳ]
 τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκέοντας
 ἀπὸ ἐωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχόντων
 15 καὶ ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι
 καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεόντων σφίσι, οὔτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν
 ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν
 δὲ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι. προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ
 ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦον. CXXXV. ξεινικὰ
 δὲ νόμια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ

γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας. καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς 5 πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται.

Marriage, education, morality etc.

γαμέουσι δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται. CXXXVI. ἀνδραγαθίη δὲ αὕτη ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὅς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἠγέεται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας 5 ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μούνα, ἵππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνεέται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆσι γυναιξὶ δίαιταν ἔχει. τοῦδε (δὲ) εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιεέται, ἵνα ἦν ἀποθάνη 10 τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσῃν τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλλῃ. CXXXVII. αἰνέω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μιῆς αἰτίας εἵνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἦν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε 5 καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἔοντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κωλέγουσι τὸν ἑωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὁκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητούμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἤτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἔοντα ἢ 10

μοιχίδια· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἶκός εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως
 τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν.
 CXXXVIII. ἄσσα δέ σφι ποιέειν οὐκ ἔξεστι,
 ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἴσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ
 ψεύδεσθαι νενομίσται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλιν χρέος,
 5 πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἴνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην
 φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καί τι ψεῦδος λέγειν. ὅς
 ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν
 οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι
 Πέρσησι. φασὶ δέ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι
 ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον
 10 ὑπὸ τούτων πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ
 τὰς λευκὰς περιστεράς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες.
 ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ
 χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορῶσι,
 ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα.

A philological note.

CXXXIX. καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὦδε συμπέπτωκε
 γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι
 οὔ. τὰ οὐνόματά σφι ἔοντα ὅμοια τοῖσι σώμασι
 καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τῶν
 5 γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ
 σίγμα. ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν
 Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ οὔ, ἀλλὰ
 πάντα ὁμοίως.

Mysterious practices of the Magians.

CXL. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν. τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἐλकुσθῆ. μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως 5 οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῆ κρύπτουσι. μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἔμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι· 10 οἱ δὲ δὴ μάγοι αὐτοχειρίῃ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις καὶ τᾶλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐχέτω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη, ἀνεῖμι δὲ 15 ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

Cyrus' conquest of Asia Minor (cc. 141—176). Upon the fall of Lydia (c. 84) the Ionians and Aeolians make proposals to Cyrus, which he rejects. They then fortify their cities.

CXLI. ἼΩΝΕΣ δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προῖσχοντο ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον, 5 ἄνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰχθῦς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ αὐλέειν, δοκέοντά σφεας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν· ὡς δὲ

ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ
 περιβαλεῖν τε πλήθος πολλὸν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ
 10 ἐξειρῦσαι, ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν
 πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύς· Παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ'
 ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι. Κῦρος
 μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι
 τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἴωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ
 15 Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαί σφεας ἀπὸ
 Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν
 πρηγμάτων ἦσαν ἔτοιμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὁ μὲν
 δὴ ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε, Ἴωνες δὲ ὡς ἤκου-
 σαν τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλιας, τείχεά τε
 20 περιεβάλλοντο ἕκαστοι καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον
 οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Μιλησίων· πρὸς μούρους γὰρ τούτους
 ὄρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο ἐπ' οἰσί περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι
 δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἴωσι ἔδοξε κοινῶ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους
 ἐς Σπάρτην δεησομένους Ἴωσι τιμωρέειν.

Ionia and its cities.

CXLII. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιό-
 νιον ἐστὶ, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὠρέων ἐν τῷ
 καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων
 ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς
 5 χωρία τῶντὸ ποιεῖε τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω, [οὔτε τὰ
 πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέριν,] τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος. γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν
 αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας
 10 παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κεῖται
 πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ

Πριήνη· αὐται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταῦτὰ διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ· Ἐφεσος, Κολοφών, Λέβεδος, Τέως, Κλαζομεναί, Φώκαια. αὐται δὲ αἱ πόλιες τῆσι πρότερον λεχ- 15
θείσῃσι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφυνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλιες, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χιον, ἢ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἠπειρῷ ἱδρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χίοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τῶντὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι 20
δὲ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μούνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

The name Ionian.

CXLIH. τούτων δὴ ὦν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσαν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν 5
ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος, πολλῶ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδέν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἰῶνες καὶ οἱ 10
Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἰῶνες κεκληῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὖνόματι· αἱ δὲ δωδέκα πόλιες αὐται τῷ τε οὖνόματι ἠγάλλοντο καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθεντο 15
Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοῖ

μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι), CXLIV. κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκ
 τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρας Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ
 ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται
 ὦν μηδαμὸν ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς
 5 τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ
 τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ
 τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ
 πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους
 χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ'
 10 αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὦν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς,
 τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλέης, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατη-
 λόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασ-
 σάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἰ-
 πέντε πόλιες, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμιρος
 15 καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος, ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν
 ἕκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησόν. τούτοισι μὲν νυν οὔτοι
 ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν.

The original home of the Ionians.

CXLV. δυώδεκα δέ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιή-
 σασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξα-
 σθαι τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον
 δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατὰ περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν
 5 τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δυώδεκά ἐστι μέρεα, Πελ-
 λήνη μὲν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἴγαιρα
 καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς αἰεὶνάος ἐστι, ἀπ'
 ὅτευ ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὔνομα ἔσχε, καὶ
 Βούρα καὶ Ἑλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ
 10 Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες, καὶ Αἴγιον καὶ Ῥύπες
 καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρέες καὶ Ὠλενος, ἐν τῷ Πεῖρος

ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστὶ, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταιέες, οἱ μῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι.

How they are intermingled with other races.

CXLVI. ταῦτα δωδέκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τότε γε Ἴώνων ἦν. τούτων δὲ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δωδέκα πόλιας ἐποίησαντο, ἐπεὶ ὥς γέ τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνές εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων Ἴώνων ἢ κάλλιόν τι γεγόνασι, μωρὴ πολλὴ λέγειν, τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν 5 ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἴωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοί σφι ἀναμεμίχεται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύσopes καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα 10 πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχεται· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὄρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἴώνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἠγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ 15 γυναῖκες αὐταὶ νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῆσι ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῆσι θυγατράσι μὴ κοτε ὀμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτε 20 ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῆσι συνοίκεον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. CXLVII. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἴππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίου ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν 5

ἄλλων Ἴώνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες· εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρθήν. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ
 10 μῦνοι Ἴώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.

The Panionion.

CXLVIII. τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἰρός, πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἴώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἐλικωνίῳ· ἡ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρη πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον
 5 κατήκουσα Σάμῳ, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὀρθήν, τῇ ἔθεντο οὖνομα Πανιώνια. πεπόνθασι δὲ οὗτι μῦναι αἱ Ἴώνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τῶντὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατὰ περ τῶν
 10 Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα.

The cities of Aeolis.

CXLIX. Αὗται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλιές εἰσι, αἶδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἢ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Λήρισαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τῆμος, Κίλλα, Νότιον, Αἰγίροεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια· αὗται
 5 ἕνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλιες αἱ ἀρχαῖαι· μία γὰρ σφεων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἴώνων· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὗται δωδέκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολέες χῶρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἴώνων, ὠρέων δὲ ἤκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως. CI. Σμύρνην δὲ ὧδε ἀπέβαλον

Αιολέες· Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὄρτην ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσω, 5 τὰς πύλας ἀποκλήσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιέλονται σφεας αἱ ἔνδεκα πόλεις καὶ ἐποίησαντο σφέων 10 αὐτέων πολιήτας. CLI. αὐται μὲν νυν αἱ ἠπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδη οἰκημένων· κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὐται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἕκτην ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκεομένην 5 Ἄρισβαν ἠνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι, ἐόντας ὁμαίμους), ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκέεται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῆσι Ἑκατὸν νήσοισι καλεομένησι ἄλλη μία. Λεσβίοισι μὲν νυν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατὰ περ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν. τῆσι δὲ λοιπῆσι 10 πόλισι ἕαδε κοινῇ Ἰωσι ἔπεσθαι τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται.

The Ionians and Aeolians ask help of Sparta (cp. c. 141, l. 23) but are refused. The Spartans however send a peremptory message to Cyrus. Cyrus marches away to Agbatana.

CLII. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα), εἶλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαιέα, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ πορ-

5 φύρεόν τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι
 πλείστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστάς
 ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρέειν ἑωυτοῖσι χηρίζων. Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἐσήκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ
 τιμωρέειν Ἴωσι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακε-
 10 δαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπώσάμενοι τῶν Ἴώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους
 ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ
 δοκέει, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ
 Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔπεμπον
 ἐς Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὖνομα
 15 ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν,
 γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν ὡς
 αὐτῶν οὐ περιοψομένων. CLIII. ταῦτα εἰπόντος
 τοῦ κήρυκος λέγεται Κύρον ἐπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόν-
 τας οἱ Ἑλλήνων τίνες ἑόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 καὶ κόσιοι πλήθος ταῦτα ἑωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι.
 5 πυνθανόμενον δὲ μιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν
 Σπαρτιήτην· Οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσὶ
 ἐστι χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν
 συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὀμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι. τοῖσι,
 ἦν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα
 10 ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκία. ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας
 ἀπέρριψε· ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι
 ὠνῆ τε καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι
 ἀγορῆσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἔστι τὸ
 παράπαν ἀγορῆ. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν
 15 Σάρδις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τὸν τε
 Κροῖσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτύῃ ἀνδρὶ
 Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα,
 Κροῖσόν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ
 λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἧ τε γὰρ

Βαβυλών οί ἦν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος 20
καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ' οὓς ἐπέιχέ τε στρα-
τηλατέειν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρα-
τηγόν.

The Lydians under Pactyas revolt from Cyrus.

Croesus counsels Cyrus on the matter.

CLIV. ὡς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων,
τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου
καὶ Κύρου, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἄτε τὸν χρυ-
σὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε
ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε 5
σὺν ἐωντῷ στρατεύεσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις
ἐπολιόρκεε Τάβαλον ἀπεργμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι.

CLV. πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε
πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε· Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τέλος τῶν
γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὡς
οἴκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες.
φροντίζω μὴ ἄριστον ἢ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαί σφεας· 5
ὁμοίως γάρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι ὡς εἶ-
τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ φείσαιο.
ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλεον τι ἢ πατέρα
έόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν
παρέδωκα καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἰ μοι ἀπεστᾶσι. ὁ 10
μὲν δὴ τά περ ἐνόεε ἔλεγε, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε
δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδεις· ὦ βα-
σιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἴρηκας, σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα
θυμῷ χρέο μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσης ἀναμάρ-
τητον εἶδουσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐστεώτων· 15
τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλῇ

ἀναμάξας φέρω· τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα Πακτύης γάρ
 ἔστι ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις, οὗτος δότω
 τοι δίκην. Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι
 20 ἐπίταξον, ὡς μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινοὶ τοι ἔωσι·
 ἄπειπε μὲν σφι πέμψας ὄπλα ἀρήια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι,
 κέλευε δὲ σφεας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἴμασι
 καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρί-
 ζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς
 25 παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, γυναῖκας
 ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοὶ τοι
 ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι. CLVI. Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ
 ταῦτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἰρετώτερα ταῦτα εὐρίσκων
 Λυδοῖσι ἢ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθῆναί σφεας, ἐπι-
 στάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ ἀξιοχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνῃ, οὐκ
 5 ἀναπέσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ
 καὶ ὕστερόν κοτε οἱ Λυδοί, ἦν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδρά-
 μωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλωνται.
 Κῦρος δὲ ἦσθεις τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπεῖς τῆς ὀργῆς ἔφη
 οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον,
 10 ταῦτά τέ οἱ ἐνετείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ
 Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι
 τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδεις
 ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ζῶντα
 ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἑωυτόν.

*Pactyas flies to Cyme and Mazares demands his
 surrender.*

CLVII. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλά-
 μενος ἀπήλαυε ἐς ἠθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ
 πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἑωυτόν ἰόντα,

δείσας οἶχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ
 Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ 5
 μοῖραν ὄσσην δὴ κοτε ἔχων, ὡς οὐκ εὔρε ἔτι ἔοντας
 τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς
 Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν· ἐκ
 τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν
 τῆς ζόης μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε 10
 ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύην.
 οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν
 ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδησι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον
 ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον, τῷ Ἴωνές τε πάντες καὶ
 Λιολέες ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτός ἐστι 15
 τῆς Μιλησίου ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος.

*The men of Cyme twice consult the oracle at
 Branchidae.*

CLVIII. πέμψαντες ὧν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς
 Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους εἰρώτευν περὶ Πακτύην ὀκοῖόν
 τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι· ἐπειρωτῶσι
 δέ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην
 Πέρσησι. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ 5
 Κυμαῖοι, ὀρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι. ὀρμημένου δὲ ταύτη
 τοῦ πλήθεος Ἄριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδew ἀνὴρ τῶν
 ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους,
 ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους
 οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως, ἐς ὃ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύew 10
 ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἄρισ-
 τόδικος ἦν. CLIX. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας
 ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἄριστόδικος ἐπειρωτέων
 τάδε· Ὠναξ, ἦλθε παρ' ἡμέας ἰκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδὸς

φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ δέ μιν
 5 ἐξαιτέονται προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ
 δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τὸν ἰκέτην ἐς τόδε
 οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν
 δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως ὀκότερα ποιέωμεν. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα
 ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' αὖτις τὸν αὐτὸν σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε
 10 κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσησι. πρὸς ταῦτα
 ὁ Ἄριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίηε τάδε· περιῶν τὸν
 νηὸν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρει τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν
 νενοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος δὲ
 αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι
 15 φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἄριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ
 τάδε· Ἄνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾶς ποιείεις;
 τοὺς ἰκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραΐζεις; Ἄριστόδικον
 δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· Ὠναξ, αὐτὸς
 μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι ἰκέτησι βοηθείεις, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις
 20 τὸν ἰκέτην ἐκδιδόναι; τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσδε·
 Ναὶ κελεύω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θᾶσσον ἀπόλησθε,
 ὡς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἰκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθητε ἐπὶ τὸ
 χρηστήριον.

Pactyas is surrendered by the Chians.

CLX. ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ
 Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι
 οὔτε παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι ἐκπέμ-
 πουσι αὐτὸν ἐς Μυτιλήνην. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι
 5 ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν
 Πακτύην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δῆ. οὐ
 γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ
 ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησ-
 σόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς

Λέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύην ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ 10
 ἐξ ἱροῦ Ἀθηναίης πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων
 ἐξεδόθη. ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χίοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνέι μισθῷ·
 τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χῶρος τῆς Μυσίου,
 Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύην μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ
 Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. 15
 ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γενόμενος, ὅτε Χίων
 οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθέων
 πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο θεῶν οὐδενὶ οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσ-
 σετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν, ἀπείχετό τε τῶν πάντων
 ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ταύτης γινόμενα. 20

*Upon the death of Mazares Harpagus takes command
 and attacks Phocaea.*

CLXI. Χίοι μὲν νυν Πακτύην ἐξέδοσαν, Μαζάρης
 δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκή-
 σαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξηνδρα-
 ποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδῖον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε
 ληίην ποιούμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην τε ὡσαύτως. 5
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ. CLXII. ἀπο-
 θανόντος δὲ τούτου Ἄρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς
 στρατηγίας, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μήδος, τὸν ὁ
 Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε,
 ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληίην συγκατεργασάμενος. 5
 οὗτος ὠνήρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς
 ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἶρεε τὰς πόλιας χῶμασι·
 ὅκως γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσειε, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν χῶματα
 χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε. πρώτη δὲ Φωκαίη
 Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε. 10

The voyages of the Phocaeans.

CLXIII. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖέες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῆσι
 πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἄδρίην καὶ
 τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν
 οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες. ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ
 5 στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. ἀπικό-
 μνοι δὲ εἰς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ
 βασιλεί τῶν Ταρτησσίων, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργαν-
 θώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτα,
 ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ
 10 ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαῖέες οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο,
 ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτά σφεας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε
 τῆς ἐωυτοῦ χώρας οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται, μετὰ δέ,
 ὡς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαῖέας, ὁ δὲ πυθό-
 μενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὔξειτο, ἐδίδου σφι
 15 χρήματα τείχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ἐδίδου δὲ
 ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ
 ὀλίγοι στάδιοί εἰσι, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ
 εὖ συναρμοσμένων.

*The Phocaeans abandon their city and sail away
to Corsica.*

CLXIV. τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι
 τρόπῳ τοιῶδε ἐξεποιήθη, ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ὡς ἐπήλασε
 τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπολιόρκει αὐτούς, προῖσχύμενος ἔπεα
 ὡς οἱ καταχρᾶ εἰ βούλονται Φωκαῖέες προμαχεῶνα
 5 ἓνα μῦνον τοῦ τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι καὶ οἴκημα ἐν κατι-
 ρῶσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖέες περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλῶσυνῃ

ἔφασαν θέλειν βουλευσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν καὶ ἔπειτα
 ὑποκρινέεσθαι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγεῖν
 ἐκείνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος. ὁ
 δὲ Ἄρπαγος ἔφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκείνοι μέλλοιεν 10
 ποίειν, ὅμως δέ σφι παριέναι βουλευσασθαι. ἐν ᾧ
 ὦν ὁ Ἄρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν
 στρατιήν, οἱ Φωκαῖες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς
 πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ
 ἔπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν 15
 ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ
 λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ
 αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου· τὴν δὲ Φώκαιαν
 ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι. CLXV. οἱ
 δὲ Φωκαῖες, ἐπεῖτε σφι Χίοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσ-
 σας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνευμένοισι πωλέειν
 δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἢ δὲ αὐτῶν
 νῆσος ἀποκλησθῆ τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φω- 5
 καιῖες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνω
 εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστή-
 σαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἄλαλίη. Ἄργανθῶνιος
 δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ
 τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φώκαιαν 10
 κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακὴν, ἢ ἐφρούρει
 παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἄρπάγου τὴν πόλιν, μετὰ δέ,
 ὡς τοῦτό σφι ἐξέργαστο, ἐποιήσαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας
 τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἔωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου. πρὸς δὲ
 ταύτησι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ 15
 ὤμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φώκαιαν ἥξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον
 τούτον ἀναφανῆναι. στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Κύρνον ὑπὲρ ἡμίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ
 οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἠθέων τῆς χώρας, ψευ-

20 δόρκιοι δὲ γινόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φώκαιαν. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ἐφύλασσαν, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον.

Their battle with the Tyrsenians and Carthaginians and their subsequent fate.

CLXVI. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἴκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε καὶ ἰρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας, στρατεύονται ὦν ἐπ' 5 αὐτοὺς κοινῶ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι νηυσὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἔοντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμισγόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Καδμείῃ 10 τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι ἐγένετο. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσαεράκοντά σφι νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίην ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην 15 κτήσιν ὅσῃν οἰαί τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφι ἄγειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον.

CLXVII. τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἳ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ.....ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῶ πλέους καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα 5 τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαιέες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγένετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι ἀκέ-

σασθαι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἄγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι· 10 καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαίων τοιοῦτῳ μόρῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμώμενοι ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίας ταύτην ἣτις νῦν Ἐτέλη καλέεται. 15 ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιήτεω μαθόντες ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἡρώων ἐόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον. Φωκαίης μὲν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτως ἔσχε.

The men of Teos likewise abandon their city, and found Abdera in Thrace.

CLXVIII. παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοισι καὶ Τήιοι ἐποίησαν· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ σφῶν εἶλε χῶματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἄρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἄβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος 5 κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν ἐν Ἄβδήροισι ὡς ἡρώς ἔχει.

Harpagus conquers all Ionia except Miletus.

CLXIX. Οὗτοι μὲν νυν Ἰώνων μόνου τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες, πλὴν Μιλησίων, διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκουτο Ἄρπάγῳ κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἕκαστος 5 μαχόμενοι· ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ

χώρην ἕκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλήσιοι δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἶρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἠσυχίην ἤγουν. οὕτω δὲ
 10 τὸ δεύτερον Ἴωνίη ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἄρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.

Bias gives profitable counsel to the Ionians.

CLXX. κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἤσσον ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπέιθοντο, παρείχε ἂν σφι
 5 εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῶ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας
 10 ἄλλων· μένουσι δὲ σφι ἐν τῇ Ἴωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι γενομένη, χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θαλέω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἑόντος
 15 Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἤσσον νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν.

Harpagus completes the conquest of Asia Minor
(cc. 171—176). *The Carians.*

CLXXI. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ σφι γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο, Ἄρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην ἐποιέετο στρατήην ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἠπειρον ἐκ τῶν 5 νήσων· τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔοντες Μίνω κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ, οἱ δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἄτε δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν 10 πολλὴν καὶ εὐτυχεύοντος τῷ πολέμῳ τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα. καὶ σφι τριξὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρες 15 εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήια ποιέεσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρειον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἱ περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρᾶσθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι 20 τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὄμοισι περικείμενοι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἴωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἠπειρον ἀπίκοντο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογέουσι 25 τούτοισι οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἠπειρώτας καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. ἀποδεικνύσι

δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ
 30 Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι
 εἰσὶ τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν
 λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ
 μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ εἶντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι
 τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα.

The Caunians.

CLXXII. οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκέειν
 ἐμοί εἶσι, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσ-
 κεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος,
 ἢ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω
 5 ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι), νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισ-
 μένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν.
 τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστόν ἐστι κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλό-
 τητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ
 γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί. ἰδρυθέντων δὲ σφι ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν
 10 μετέπειτα, ὡς σφι ἀπέδοξε (ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι
 μῦνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι), ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἅπαντες
 Καύνιοι ἠβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἡέρα μεχρι
 οὖρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἶποντο καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκ-
 βάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεοὺς.

The Lycians.

CLXXIII. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τῶρχαίου γεγόνασι (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι). διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνοσ τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡσ 5 ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνωσ, ἐξήλασε αὐτὸν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺσ στασιώτασ αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ἀποσθέντεσ ἀπίκοντο τῆσ Ἀσίησ ἐσ γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάσ, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. 10 τέωσ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδῶν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἠνεΐκαντο οὖνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι· ὡσ δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκοσ ὁ Πανδίονοσ, ἐξελασθεῖσ καὶ οὗτοσ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέοσ, ἀπίκετο ἐσ τοὺσ Τερμίλασ 15 παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων 20 ἐωυτοὺσ καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων. εἰρομένου δὲ ἐτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίσ εἶη, καταλέξει ἐωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆσ μητροῦσ ἀνανεμεῖται τὰσ μητέρασ. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλω συνοικήση, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστόσ, καὶ ὁ πρῶτοσ αὐτῶν, 25 γυναιῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχη, ἅτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

The Cnidians.

CLXXIV. Οἱ μὲν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδὲν οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν οἰκέουσι. οἰκέουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι, τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὲ Τριόπιον καλέεται, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίδος, εὐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίης πλὴν ὀλίγης περιρροῦ (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορῆν ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς
 10 κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα). τὸ ὦν δὲ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὼν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὄρουσον οἱ Κνίδιοι ἐν ὄσῳ Ἀρπαγὸς τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώραν ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι
 15 ἐγίνετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρα ἐς τὴν ἠπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἐστὶ τὸν ὄρουσον. καὶ δὴ πολλῇ χεῖρι ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θεϊότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τὰ τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ
 20 μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπιους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξουν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾶ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε·

Ἴσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μῆδ' ὀρύσσετε·

25 Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κνίδιοι μὲν ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐπίοντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδωσαν.

The Pedasians and the Xanthians.

CLXXV. ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ
 Ἀλικαρνησοῦ μεσόγαιαν, τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνε-
 πιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοισι, ἡ
 ἱερεΐη τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει. τρίς σφι
 τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μούνοί 5
 τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγῳ καὶ πρήγματα παρέ-
 σχον πλεῖστα, ὄρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Λίδη.

CLXXVI. Πηδασέες μὲν νυν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν,
 Λύκιοι δέ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδῖον ἤλασε ὁ Ἀρπαγος
 τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς
 πολλοὺς ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ
 κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλισαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν 5
 τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ
 τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν
 πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ
 συνομόσαντες ὄρκους δεινούς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον
 πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων 10
 φημένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα
 ἰστιέων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἰστίαι αὐταὶ
 ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο.
 τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ Ἀρπαγος, παρα-
 πλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καῦνιοι 15
 τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμιμήσαντο τὰ πλέω.

Cyrus subdues Upper Asia and takes Babylon
(cc. 177—191). *Description of Babylon.*

CLXXVII. ΤΑ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας
Ἄρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίηε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς
Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς.
τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν, τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε
5 τε πόνον πλεῖστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατά ἐστι, τούτων
ἐπιμνήσομαι. CLXXVIII. Κῦρος ἐπέιτε τὰ πάντα
τῆς ἠπειροῦ ὑποχείρια ἐποίησατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετί-
θετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλα
πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον
5 καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτου
γενομένης τὰ βασιλῆια κατεστήκεε, ἦν ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝ,
ἐοῦσα τοιαύτη δὴ τις πόλις. κεῖται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ,
μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἕκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν
σταδίων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου· οὔτοι στάδιοι τῆς
10 περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδῶκοντα
καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τὸ μὲν νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτό ἐστι
τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου, ἐκεκόσμητο δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν
ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τάφρος μὲν πρῶτά
μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλὴν ὕδατος περιθέει,
15 μετὰ δὲ τείχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιλῆϊων
ἐὸν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων. ὁ δὲ
βασιλῆϊος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πῆχεος μέζων
τρισι δακτύλοισι. CLXXIX. δεῖ δὴ με πρὸς τού-
τοισι ἔτι φράσαι ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναισιμῶθη
καὶ τὸ τείχος ὄντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες
ἅμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθενον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
5 ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην, ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους
ικανὰς ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοισι· μετὰ δὲ τέλματι

χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων
 πλίνθου ταρσοὺς καλίμων διαστοιβάζοντες ἔδειμαν
 πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου τὰ χεῖλα, δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ
 τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος 10
 παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα ἔδειμαν,
 τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων
 ἔλιπον τεθρίπῳ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι
 πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατόν, χάλκεια πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθ-
 μοί τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις 15
 ἀπέχουσα ὀκτῶ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος· Ἴς
 οὖνομα αὐτῇ. ἔνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἴς καὶ
 τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα. ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν
 Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἴς
 ποταμὸς ἅμα τῷ ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοί 20
 πολλούς, ἔνθεν ἡ ἀσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος
 ἐκομίσθη. CLXXX. ἐτετείχιστο μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυ-
 λῶν τρόπῳ τοιῶδε, ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσεια τῆς πόλιος.
 τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὖνομά ἐστι
 Εὐφρήτης, ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, ἐὼν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς
 καὶ ταχύς· ἐξιεὶ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. 5
 τὸ ὦν δὴ τεῖχος ἐκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν
 ἐλήλαται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ παρὰ
 χεῖλος ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἵμασιῇ πλίνθων
 ὀπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστῳ αὐτὸ ἐὼν πλήρες
 οἰκιέων τριωρόφων τε καὶ τετρωρόφων κατατέμνηται 10
 τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθείας, τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς
 ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. κατὰ δὴ ὦν ἐκάστην ὁδὸν
 ἐν τῇ αἵμασιῇ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπήσαν,
 ὅσαι περ αἱ λαῦραι, τοσαῦται ἀριθμὸν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ
 αὐταὶ χάλκεια, φέρουσαι καὶ αὐταὶ ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν 15
 ποταμὸν.

The precinct of Bel and the marvels contained therein.

CLXXXI. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστί, ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθεῖ, οὐ πολλῶ τρω ἄσθενέστερον τοῦ ἑτέρου τείχεος, στεινότερον δέ. ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἑκατέρω τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ
 5 ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλῆια περιβόλῳ τε μεγάλῳ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου ἴρον χαλκέπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τοῦτο ἑόν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐὼν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ
 10 ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποιήται. μεσοῦντι δὲ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιός ἐστι καταγωγὴ τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυ-
 15 στήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κεῖται εὖ ἐστρωμένη καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παράκειται χρυσέη. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον· οὐδὲ νύκτα
 20 οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἔληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ἑόντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ.
 CLXXXII. φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰ περ ἐν Θήβησι τῆσι Αἰγυπτίησι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς
 5 λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι (καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαίου γυνή, ἀμφοτέραι δὲ αὐταὶ

λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμιλίην φοιτᾶν), καὶ
κατὰ περ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἢ πρόμαντις τοῦ
θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὦν αἰεὶ ἐστι χρηστήριον
αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται, τότε ὦν συγκατακληίεται 10
τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῶ. CLXXXIII. ἔστι δὲ
τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηός, ἔνθα
ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνι κατήμενον χρύσειον, καὶ οἱ
τράπεζα μεγάλη παράκειται χρυσέη καὶ τὸ βάθρον
οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρυσεός ἐστι. καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ 5
Χαλδαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποιήται
ταῦτα. ἔξω δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος. ἔστι
δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμός μέγας, ἐπ' οὗ θύεται τὰ τέλεα
τῶν προβάτων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσεοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ
ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μούνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ 10
μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια
τάλαντα ἔτεος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε ἐπεὰν τὴν
ὄρτην ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ· ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει
τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνου καὶ ἀνδριάς δυώδεκα
πηχέων χρύσεος στερεός. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον, τὰ 15
δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ
ἀνδριάντι Δαρείος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας
οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε
καὶ τὸν ἰρέα ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινέειν τὸν
ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμηται, 20
ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

Semiramis and Nitocris, queens of Babylon
(cc. 184—187). *The embankments of Semiramis.*

CLXXXIV. τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ
μέν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλέες, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι
Ἄσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἳ τὰ τείχεά
τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἰρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες
5 δύο· ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον γενεῆσι
πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις,
αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χῶματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίου ἐόντα
ἀξιοθέητα· πρότερον δὲ ἑώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ
πεδίου πᾶν πελαγίζειν.

The works of Nitocris on the Euphrates above Babylon

CLXXXV. ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης
βασιλεία, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις, αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη
γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα
ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων
5 ὀρώσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν,
(ἀλλ') ἄλλα τε ἀραιοημένα ἄστεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν
δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο
μάλιστα. πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ῥέοντα
πρότερον ἰθύν, ὅς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει,
10 τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε
σκολιὸν ὥστε δὴ τρίς ἐς τῶν τινα κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ
Ἄσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων. τῇ δὲ κώμη οὖνομά ἐστι
ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν
οἳ ἂν κομίζονται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυ-
15 λῶνα, καταπλέοντες [ἐς] τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τρίς
τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν

τρισι ἡμέρησι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος ἄξιον θώματος, μέγαθος καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τι ἐστί. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῶ Βαβυλῶνος ὠρυσσε ἔλυτρον 20 λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεύσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ 25 παραχέουσα. ἐπεῖτε δέ οἱ ὀρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. ἐποίηε δὲ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὀρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος, ὡς ὃ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἶη περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόοι ἔωσι 30 σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκεται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρῆ. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρας τῇ αἴ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα. 35

and in Babylon itself.

CLXXXVI. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκεν ἐποίησατο. τῆς πόλιος ἐούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοῦτερον διαβῆναι, 5 χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε· ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ὠρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῇ λίμνη, μνημόσυνον τότε ἄλλο

ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο. ἐτάμνετο λίθους
 10 περιμήκεας, ὡς δέ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἕτοιμοι καὶ τὸ
 χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον
 πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὄρουσσε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν
 τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥέεθρου τοῦτο
 15 καταβάσιαι τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν
 φερούσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῆσι κατὰ τὸν
 αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχει, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσσην κου
 μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοισι τοὺς ὠρύξατο
 οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ
 20 μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρη
 γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν
 ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα
 ταῦτα ἀπαειρέεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτεύοντες
 τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τό τε
 25 ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνει ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ
 τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην
 ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε·
 καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν ἔλος γενόμενον ἐς δέον ἐδόκει
 30 σκευασμένη.

The story of Nitocris' tomb.

CLXXXVII. ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασιλεία καὶ
 ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο. ὑπὲρ τῶν
 μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐωυτῆ
 κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν
 5 πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέ-
 γοντα τάδε· ΤΩΝ ΤΙΣ ἼΜΕΥ ἸΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ
 ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ἮΝ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΗΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ

ἌΝΟΙΞΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΑΦΟΝ ΛΑΒΕΤΩ ὍΚΟΣΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΧΡΗ-
 ΜΑΤΑ. ΜΗ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΓΕ ΜΗ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΑΣ ΓΕ ἌΛΛΩΣ
 ἌΝΟΙΞΗΙ. Οὔ ΓΑΡ ἌΜΕΙΝΟΝ. οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν 10
 ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρείον περιήλθε ἡ βασι-
 ληίη. Δαρείω δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῆσι
 πύλῃσι ταύτησι μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι καὶ χρημάτων
 κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπικαλεομένων
 μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά. τῆσι δὲ πύλῃσι ταύτησι οὐδὲν 15
 ἐχρᾶτο τοῦδε εἴνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο
 ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὔρε
 χρήματα μὲν οὗ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα
 τάδε. ἘΙ ΜΗ ἌΠΑΗΣΤΟΣ ΤΕ ἘΑΣ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ
 ἌΙΣΧΡΟΚΕΡΔΗΣ, ΟὔΚ ἌΝ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ ΘΗΚΑΣ ἌΝΕΩΜΕΣ. 20
 αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ βασιλεία τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέ-
 σθαι.

*Cyrus marches upon Babylon (B.C. 539), and on his
 way takes vengeance upon the river Gyndes.*

CLXXXVIII. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς
 γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ
 πατρὸς τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ τοῦνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν
 Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν. στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ
 μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ 5
 προβάτοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω
 ποταμοῦ ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ
 μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ.
 τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου
 πολλαὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνειαι κομί- 10
 ζουσαι ἐν ἀγγηίοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἔπονται ὅκη ἂν ἐλαύνη

ἐκάστοτε. CLXXXIX. ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γύνδη ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἰ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι ὄρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, 5 ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὡπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί, τούτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος ἔοντα νησιπέρητον, ἐνθαῦτά οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο, 10 ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι καὶ οἱ ἐπηπειλήσε οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικᾶς μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν 15 ἀπειλὴν μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στρατεύουσιν διαίρειε τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπον, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν 20 ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἶα δὲ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτη διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

The Babylonians are defeated and shut themselves up in the city.

CXC. ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβόν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατευσά- 5 μνοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ

τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσω-
θέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἷα δὲ
ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμί-
ζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐτὸν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁμοίως ἐπι-
χειρέοντα, προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. 19
ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης οὐδένα,
Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίησι ἐνείχετο ἕτε χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου
συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτο-
μένων.

How Cyrus took the city (B.C. 538).

CXCI. εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο,
εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίηε δὴ
τοιόνδε· τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ
ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὄπισθε
αὐτὶς τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἐτέρους, τῇ ἐξιεὶ ἐκ τῆς 5
πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν δια-
βατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτη
ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα
παραίνεσας ἀπήλαυε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρηίῳ τοῦ
στρατοῦ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τά περ 10
ἢ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεία ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τὸν
ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίηε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος
ἕτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν
ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἔλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον
διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε ὑπονουστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. 15
γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ περ
ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ, κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ
Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονουστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς
μέσον μῆρὸν μάλιστά κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήμισαν ἐς τὴν
Βαβυλῶνα. εἰ μὲν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ 20

Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιούμενον, οἱ δ' ἂν περιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν κάκιστα· κατακλήσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ
 25 τὰς αἶμασιὰς ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔληλαμένας, ἔλαβον ἄν σφεας ὡς ἐν κύρτη. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκῆτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτη οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος
 30 ἐαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας, ἀλλά (τυχεῖν γάρ σφι εἶδον ὄρτην) χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείησι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο. καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο.

The wealth of Babylonia.

CXCII. Τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. βασιλεί τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφήν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πάρεξ τοῦ
 5 φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει. δωδέκα ὧν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἢ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἢ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὕτω τριτημορίη ἢ Ἀσσυρίη χώρα τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας. καὶ ἢ ἀρχὴ
 10 τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπηίην καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριτανταίχμη τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέος ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν. τοῦτον ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήιε ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή (ἢ δὲ ἀρτάβη
 15 μέτρον ἐὼν Περσικὸν χωρεῖ μεδίμνου Ἀττικοῦ πλέον

χοίνιξι τρισὶ Ἀπτικῆσι), ἵπποι δέ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίη, παρέξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια· ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο 20 δὴ τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐοῦσαι ἀτελέες, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε εἶντα.

Its wonderful fertility.

CXCIII. ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγῳ, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο. ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λήιον καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος, οὐ κατὰ περ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς 5 ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνηίοισι ἀρδόμενος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα πᾶσα, κατὰ περ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, κατατέμνεται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νησιπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ 10 Εὐφρήτεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ' ὃν Νίνος πόλις οἴκητο. ἐστὶ δὲ χωρέων αὕτη πασέων μακρῶ ἀρίστη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειρᾶται ἀρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκέην οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἐλαίην. τὸν δὲ τῆς 15 Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ ὥστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδιδοῖ, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὕτη ἐωυτῆς ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρειν. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ

20 πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ
 δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος
 γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὖ
 εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην
 25 χώραν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα ἐς ἀπιστίην
 πολλὴν ἀπίκται. χρέωνται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ ἀλλ'
 ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες. εἰσὶ δέ σφι φοίνικες
 πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν
 καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι
 ποιεῦνται· τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τὰ τε
 30 ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἕλληνες καλέουσι,
 τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῆσι βαλανηφόροισι
 τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνῃ τέ σφι ὁ ψῆν τὴν βάλανον
 ἐσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοίνικος·
 ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες, κατὰ
 35 περ οἱ ὄλονθοι.

The strange boats used on the Euphrates.

CXCIV. τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ
 τῶν ταύτη μετά γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι
 φράσων. τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσί ἐστι τὰ κατὰ τὸν
 ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔοντα κυκλο-
 5 τερέα, πάντα σκύτινα· ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι
 τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι νομέας ἰτέης
 ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοισι διφθέρας
 στεγαστρίδας ἕξωθεν ἐδάφεος τρόπον, οὔτε πρύμνην
 ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πρῶρην συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος
 10 τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες· καὶ καλάμης πλή-
 σαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπιεῖσι κατὰ τὸν
 ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ

βίκους φοινικηίους κατάγουσι οἴνου πλέους. ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τε δύο πλήκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἑστεῶτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον, ὁ δὲ 15 ἔξω ὠθέει. ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέζοσι πλεῦνες. ἐπεὰν ὧν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ 20 διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἄρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστὶ πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· 25 διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἄρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα.

The dress of the Babylonians.

CXCv. τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσιν ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα, ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῆδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκεί λινέῳ· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῆσι Βοιωτίησι ἐμβάσι. 5 κομῶντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρησι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγίδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὗ σφι νόμος 10 ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον.

Of their customs the wisest is that which relates to marriage.

CXCVI. αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφι ἄρτησις περὶ τὸ σῶμά ἐστι, νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστᾶσι· ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὄδε κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοὺς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ
 5 κώμας ἐκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε. ὡς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γινοίατο γάμων ὠραῖαι, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ἐς ἓν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλέας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἴστατο ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν. ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην κῆρυξ
 10 πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων, μετὰ δέ, ὅκως αὕτη εὐροῦσα πολλὸν χρυσίου πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἀνεκήρυσσε ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη. ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικῆσι. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐ-
 15 δαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοί, οὗτοι δὲ εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. ὡς γὰρ δὴ διεξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ
 20 πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην ἢ εἴ τις αὐτέων ἔμπηρος εἴη, καὶ ταύτην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίου λαβὼν συνοικέειν αὐτῇ, ἐς ὃ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπιστα-
 μένῳ προσέκειτο· τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίου ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων, καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ τὰς
 25 ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδοσαν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτεφ βούλοιτο ἕκαστος οὐκ ἐξῆν οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπαγαγέσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρῆν καταστήσαντα ἢ

μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ
 συμφεροίατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἔκειτο νόμος. 30
 ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον
 ὠνέεσθαι. ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὗτός σφι ἦν,
 οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διετέλεσε ἐών, ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασι
 νεωστὶ γενέσθαι, [ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς μηδ' ἐς
 ἐτέρην πόλιν ἄγωνται]. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἄλόντες ἐκακώ- 35
 θησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου βίου
 σπανίζων καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα.

*The next in wisdom relates to the sick. Funeral
 and other customs.*

CXCVII. δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος σφι
 νόμος κατέστηκε. τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν
 ἐκφορέουσι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἰητροῖσι· προσιόντες
 ὦν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς
 νοῦσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε ὀκοῖον ἂν ἔχη 5
 ὁ κάμνων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα· ταῦτα προσιόντες
 συμβουλεύουσι καὶ παραινέουσι ἅσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας
 ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ
 δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὐ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν
 ἐπείρηται ἦντινα νοῦσον ἔχει. CXCVIII. ταφαὶ 10
 δὲ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρῆνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν
 Αἰγύπτῳ. ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ
 ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμῖμα καταγιζόμενον ἵζει,
 ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἢ γυνὴ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ποιέει. ὄρθρου δὲ 5
 γενομένου λούνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς
 ἄψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταῦτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ
 Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

The worst of all their customs.

CXCIX. ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὄδε. δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἰζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄπαξ ἐν τῇ ζῳῃ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. 5
πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῆσι ἄλλησι οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσαι, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρησι ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστᾶσι, θεραπηίῃ δέ σφι ὄπισθε ἔπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ποιεῦσι ὧδε· ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῆσι κεφαλῆσι ἔχουσαι
10 θώμιγγος πολλὰι γυναῖκες. αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. σχοινοτενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὀδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται. ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἴζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἢ τίς οἱ
15 ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῆ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ. ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε· Ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα. Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθός ἐστι ὅσον ὦν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσηται· οὐ γάρ οἱ θέμις
20 ἐστί· γίνεται γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἔπεται οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾶ οὐδένα. ἐπεὰν δὲ μιχθῆ, ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τῷπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὔτῳ μέγα τί οἱ δῶσεις ὡς μιν λάμψει. ὅσαι μὲν νυν εἶδεός τε
25 ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσί, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλήσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐνιαχῆ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ
30 νόμος.

Three tribes which eat nothing but fish.

CC. Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὔτοι κατεστᾶσι, εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθύς μῦνον, τοὺς ἐπέετε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὄλμον καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι σῶσι 5 διὰ σινδόνας· καὶ ὅς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν ἄτε μᾶζαν μαξάμενος ἔδει, ὁ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

Cyrus' expedition against the Massagetae and death (cc. 201—214).

CCI. Ὡς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ 5 Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

The river Araxes.

CCII. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστρου. νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνὰς φασὶ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῆσι ἀνθρώπους οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ρίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας, καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων 5 ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὠραίους καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν· ἄλλα δὲ σφι ἐξευρηῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπέετε ἂν ἐς τὸντὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἴλας καὶ

10 πῦρ ἀνακαύσονται κύκλω περιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν
ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὄσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ
καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὀσμῇ
κατὰ περ Ἑλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ, πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλ-
λομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἐς
15 ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς αἰοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι.
τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαίτα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης
ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης,
τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας
διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσερά-
20 κοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἔλεά τε καὶ
τενάγεια ἐκδιδοῖ, ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι
λέγουσι ἰχθύς ὤμους σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομί-
ζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν
στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν
25 Κασπίην θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσά ἐστι
ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσση.
τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνας ναυτίλλονται πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἕξω
στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ
Ἐρυθρὴ μία ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει.

The Caspian Sea and the Caucasus.

CCIII. ἡ δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἐτέρη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς,
ἐοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίῃ χρωμένῳ πεντε-
καίδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ
ἑωυτῆς, ὀκτῶ ἡμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην
5 φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρα-
τείνει, ἐὼν ὀρέων καὶ πλήθει μέγιστον καὶ μεγάλῃ
ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα
ἐν ἑωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ'

ὑλης ἀγρίης ζῶοντα. ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα
 τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς 10
 τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ ζῶα ἐωντοῖσι ἐς τὴν
 ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ συγκαταγηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ κατὰ περ
 ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν, μῖξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 εἶναι ἐμφανέα κατὰ περ τοῖσι προβάτοισι. 15

*Why Cyrus attacked the Massagetae. His negotiations
 with Queen Tomyris.*

CCIV. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης
 ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει,
 τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίου
 ἐκδέκεται πλήθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν. τοῦ ὦν δὴ
 πεδίου <τούτου> τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν 5
 μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε
 προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι· πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ
 μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν, πρῶτον
 μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου,
 δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη ἢ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· 10
 ὅκη γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν
 ἐκείνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν. CCV. ἦν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
 ἀποθανόντος γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετέων βασιλεία·
 Τόμυρις οἱ ἦν οὖνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος
 ἐμνάτο τῷ λόγῳ, θέλων γυναῖκα ἦν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ
 Τόμυρις, συνιεῖσα οὐκ αὐτὴν μιν μνῶμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν 5
 Μασσαγετέων βασιλήϊν, ἀπέπατο τὴν πρόσοδον.
 Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλφ οὐ προεχώρει,
 ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεια ἐποιέετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηίην, γεφύρας τε ζευ-
 γνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ 10

πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν
 ποταμὸν οἰκοδομεύμενος. CCVI. ἔχοντι δέ οἱ τοῦτον
 τὸν πόνον πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε·
 ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις·
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἶ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται ταῦτα
 5 τελεόμενα· παυσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεωυτοῦ
 καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχευ ὀρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν.
 οὐκ ὦν ἐβελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τησίδε χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ
 πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης εἶναι· σὺ δὲ εἰ μέγας
 προθυμέαι Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε, μόχθον
 10 μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνὺς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων
 ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν
 διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην. εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλει
 ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην, σὺ τῶντὸ τοῦτο
 ποίεε. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε
 15 Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς
 μέσον σφι προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος
 ὀκότερα ποιέη. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τῶντὸ αἰ γινῶμαι
 συνεξέπιπτον κελευόντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυρῖν τε καὶ
 τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώραν.

*Croesus advises Cyrus to give battle in the
 enemy's country.*

CCVII. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην
 ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ
 προκειμένῃ γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον
 μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι ὅτι ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι, τὸ
 5 ἂν ὀρῶ σφάλμα ἐὼν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ, κατὰ δύναμιν
 ἀποτρέψειν. τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα εἶντα ἀχά-
 ριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις
 εἶναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν

εἴη πρήγμα γνώμας ἐμέ σοι ἀποφαίνεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἷς καὶ ἑτέρων τοιῶνδε 10
 ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρω-
 πηίων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἐὰ αἰεὶ
 τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχεῖν. ἤδη ὦν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω
 περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ
 οὔτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους 15
 ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἔνι· ἐσσωθεὶς
 μὲν προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ
 ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύξονται
 ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι. νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾶς
 τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων νικῶν 20
 Μασσαγέτας ἔποιο φεύγουσι· τὸντὸ γὰρ ἀντιθήσω
 ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾶς ἰθὺ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος. χωρὶς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου
 αἰσχυρὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσειω
 γυναικὶ εἷξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρας. νῦν ὦν μοι 25
 δοκέει διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπεξίωσι,
 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας πειρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περι-
 γενέσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται
 εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων
 ἀπαθές. τούτοισι ὦν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων 30
 ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας
 προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα, πρὸς
 δὲ καὶ κρητῆρας ἀφειδέως οἴνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία
 παντοῖα· ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολιπομένους τῆς
 στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτῆς 35
 ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης
 μὴ ἀμάρτω, κεῖνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέψονται
 τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις
 ἔργων μεγάλων.

Cyrus crosses the Araxes. He sees a vision.

The interpretation thereof.

CCVIII. Γνώμαι μὲν αὐται συνέστασαν, Κῦρος δὲ μετεῖς τὴν προτέρην γνώμην, τὴν Κροΐσου δὲ ἐλόμενος προηγόρευε Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέειν ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην. ἢ μὲν δὴ ἐξανεχώρει
 5 κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα. Κῦρος δὲ Κροΐσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθείς τῷ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περ τὴν βασιληίην ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενός οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἣν ἢ διάβασις ἢ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῆ, ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ
 10 ἀποστείλας τούτους ἐς Πέρσας αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ. CCIX. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεια, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης εἶδε ὄψιν εὔδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χώρῃ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ ὄραν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος
 5 παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τούτεων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. Ὑστάσπει δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος, ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ, ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσίν κεν μάλιστα
 10 ἔτεα, καὶ οὗτος κατελέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσησι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχέ κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὦν δὴ ἐξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδίδου λόγον ἑωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἢ ὄψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μῦνον εἶπε· Ὑστασπεες, παῖς σὸς
 15 ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε· ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω. ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα· ἤδη ὦν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένη νυκτὶ εὔδων εἶδον

τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν
 ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τούτεων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ 20
 τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὐκ ὦν ἔστι μηχανὴ ἀπὸ
 τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν
 ἐμοί. σὺ τοί νυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς
 Πέρσας καὶ ποίεε ὅκως, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρε-
 ψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὡς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παῖδα 25
 ἐς ἔλεγχον. CCX. Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρεῖον
 ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε
 ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτη μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ
 βασιληίη αὐτοῦ περιχωρέοι ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἀμείβεται
 δὴ ὦν ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσδε· ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴη ἀνὴρ 5
 Πέρσης γεγυῶς ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσει, εἰ δ' ἔστι,
 ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας
 ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ'
 ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἀπάντων. εἰ δέ τις τοι ὄψις ἀπαγ-
 γέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, 10
 ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τούτο ὅ τι σὺ
 βούλει. Ὑστάσπης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος κα-
 διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξην ἦε ἐς Πέρσας φυλάξων Κυρῶ
 τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον.

*By a stratagem Cyrus defeats a third part of the enemy's
 host. He is defied by Tomyris. Spargapises slays
 himself.*

CCXI. Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω
 ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίηε τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα Κύρου τε καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαρῶ στρατοῦ
 ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ
 τοῦ ἀχρήιου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγυτέων τριτη- 5

μορὶς τοῦ στρατοῦ τοὺς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου
 στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην
 ἰδόντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους,
 κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ
 10 οἴνου ἠῦδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν
 σφεων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐζώγησαν,
 καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα,
 στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν
 Σπαργαπίσης. CCXII. ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ
 τὴν στρατιὴν γεγυότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα
 πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κύρον ἔλεγε τάδε·
 "Ἀπληστε αἵματος Κύρε, μηδὲν ἐπαρθῆς τῷ γεγυότι
 5 τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοῖ
 ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ
 οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακά,
 τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ
 ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχη κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὦν μεν
 10 εὔ παραινέουσῃς ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον· ἀποδούς μοι
 τὸν παῖδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀζήμιος,
 Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας·
 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμνυμί τοι τὸν
 Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἧ μὲν σε ἐγὼ καὶ ἄπληστον
 15 ἐόντα αἵματος κορέσω. CCXIII. Κῦρος μὲν ἐπέων
 οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον, ὁ δὲ
 τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὡς μιν
 ὅ τε οἶνος ἀνήκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς
 5 Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη
 τε τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται
 ἐωυτόν.

Victory of the Massagetae and death of Cyrus
(B.C. 529). *Tomyris insults his body.*

CCXIV. καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ
τελευτᾶ, Τόμυρις δέ, ὡς οἱ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε,
συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε
Κύρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων
ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, 5
καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γεγόμενον.
πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς
ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δέ, ὡς σφι τὰ βέλεα
ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῆσι αἰχμησί τε καὶ
τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοισι συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ 10
πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους
ἐθέλειν φεύγειν· τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγῆται περιε-
γένοντο. ἢ τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς
αὐτοῦ ταύτη διεφθάρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος
τελευτᾶ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἑνὸς δέοντα τριῆ- 15
κοντα ἔτεα. ἄσκον δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπήϊου
Τόμυρις ἐδίζητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν
Κύρου νέκυν, ὡς δὲ εὔρε, ἐναπήκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν
ἐς τὸν ἄσκον· λυμαιομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε·
Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζῶσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας 20
παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλὼν δόλῳ· σὲ δ' ἐγώ, κατὰ περ
ἠπέιλησα, αἵματος κορέσω. τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν
Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων
ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.

Customs of the Massagetae.

CCXV. Μασσαγῆται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ
Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι, ἵππόται δὲ

εἰσι καὶ ἄνιπποι (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ
 τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρεις νομίζοντες ἔχειν.
 5 χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα μὲν
 γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδεις καὶ σαγάρεις, χαλκῷ τὰ
 πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστή-
 ρας καὶ μασχαλιστήρας χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. ὡς δ'
 αὐτῶς τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους
 10 θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινούς
 καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ'
 ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφι ἔστι
 ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὁ δὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ὁ χαλκοῦ ἀπλετοῦ.
 CCXVI. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσδε· γυναῖκα
 μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος, ταύτησι δὲ ἐπίκοινα χρέωνται.
 τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ Ἕλληνας ποιέειν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ
 οἱ ποιέοντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται· τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμῆση
 5 γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα ἀποκρε-
 μάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. οὐρος δὲ
 ἠλικίης σφι πρόκειται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεῖς· ἐπεὰν δὲ
 γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες
 συνελθόντες θύουσί μιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα
 10 αὐτῷ, ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευωχέονται. ταῦτα
 μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νοῦσῳ
 τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται ἀλλὰ γῆ κρύπτουσι,
 συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἔκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι.
 σπεύρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζῶουσι καὶ
 15 ἰχθύων· οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοὶ σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποτα-
 μοῦ παραγίνονται. γαλακτοπόται δὲ εἰσι. θεῶν δὲ
 μούνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. νόμος δὲ
 οὗτος τῆς θυσίης· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν
 θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον दाτέονται.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

1. **Ἀλικαρνησέος.** Aristotle (*Rhet.* III. 9. 2) reads *Θουρίου*, and **1** we know from Plutarch, *De Exsil.* 13, πολλοὶ μεταγράφουσι *Θουρίου*, that this was a common ancient variant. In B.C. 443 Herodotus went to Thurii with an Athenian colony and wrote much of his History there.

It was the custom of Greek historians to open with a statement of their name and country. Hecataeus' Genealogies began with the words, Ἐκαταῖος Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται. Compare *Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον, Τιμαῖος ὁ Δοκρὸς τάδε ἔφα.*

ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις ἦδε. 'This is a setting forth of the researches.' *ἱστορία* primarily means 'inquiry,' cp. ii. 119 *τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορήσει ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι*, and then 'knowledge derived from inquiry,' as here. In vii. 96 where Herodotus says he is not required to mention certain names *ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον*, 'for the purposes of history,' the word approximates to its later Greek and modern sense of a continuous ordered narrative. Herodotus' work was generally known as *Ἱστορίαι*, 'Researches.'

2. **ὡς** 'in order that,' as though *ἱστορίην ἀπεδέξατο* had preceded.

τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. Herodotus frequently uses this *ἐκ* of origin in place of the ordinary *ὑπό* of agent. *τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου*, c. 114, l. 12, *τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμητίχου*, ii. 151.

3. **μῆτε ἔργα.** There is no need to suppose that *ἔργα* is strongly contrasted with *τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων* and means 'monuments of human handiwork' like the tomb of Alyattes or the pyramids, cp. c. 93, l. 4, as opposed to the events of human history. What contrast there is lies rather between the heroic deeds of Greeks and barbarians, as exemplified in their mutual struggles, and the doings of mankind in general.

4. "Ἐλλησι, dat. of agent. It is the regular construction after the perfect and pluperfect passive. ἀποδεχθέντα 'displayed.' ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο, c. 16, l. 9. Cp. ἀπόδεξις ἔργων, c. 207, l. 38, ii. 101, 148, and contrast l. 1 above.

5. τὰ τε ἄλλα...ἀλλήλοισι sc. μὴ ἀκλεέα γένηται 'especially that the cause why they went to war with one another may not be lost to fame.' τὰ ἄλλα resumes τὰ γενόμενα and ἔργα, τε 'both' joining it with δι' ἣν αἰτίην, i.e. αἰτίη δι' ἣν.

7. Περσέων μὲν. The antithesis follows in c. 5, l. 11 after a resumptive clause, ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι. ἐγὼ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

λόγιοι 'skilled in history.' λόγιος, says Hesychius, is ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας ἔμπειρος.

8. Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, the Persian Gulf. See Hist. and Geogr. Ind.

τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, the Mediterranean, cp. c. 185, l. 14. The Romans knew it as *nostrum mare*.

In vii. 89 Herodotus tells us that the Phoenicians themselves regarded the shores of the Erythraean Sea as their original home. According to Eratosthenes the islands of Tyrus, or Tylus, and Aradus in the Persian Gulf contained Phoenician temples, and their inhabitants claimed as colonies the Phoenician cities on the Mediterranean (Strabo xvi. p. 1090). This tradition about the origin of the Phoenicians is generally allowed to be correct. It agrees with the modern view that Northern Arabia was the cradle of the Semitic race.

10. τοῦτον...οἰκέουσι, a narrow fertile strip of territory from 10 to 30 miles in breadth and some 200 in length along the coast of the Mediterranean to the north of Palestine.

11. αὐτίκα...ἐπιθέσθαι 'at once applied themselves to making long voyages.'

12. φορτία Αἰγύπτιά τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια. The trade of the Phoenicians is magnificently described in Ezekiel xxvii., where we learn that they got 'fine linen' from Egypt and 'wrappings of blue, brodered work and chests of rich apparel' from Assyria. The wares of Assyria and the East reached Tyre by the great caravan route through Palmyra and were thence distributed to all quarters of the Mediterranean.

13. τῇ...ἄλλη 'elsewhere.' The insertion of the article is peculiar to Herodotus. Cp. κήρυκας τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διέπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, iii. 61.

14. ἅπασιν 'in all respects.' Cp. c. 32, l. 32 δυοῖσι προέχει. τῶν sc. πολλῶν.

15. τῇ νῦν κ.τ.λ. Thucydides i. 2 uses the same expression, remarking that Homer did not use Hellenes as a collective title but employed the separate tribal names Danaans, Argives, Achaeans. See H. G. Ind. *art.* Ἑλλάς.

16. δὴ refers back to the parenthetical account of Argos. 'To this Argos, I say, the Phoenicians came and....' Cp. c. 43, l. 5 ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξείνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον....

διατίθεσθαι 'proceeded to dispose of.' Cp. c. 194, l. 21.

17. ἀπ' ἧς, attraction for ἀπὸ ταύτης ἧ.

20. τὸ δέ οἱ οὔνομα. Herodotus is fond of inserting between 2 article and substantive an enclitic pronoun, which though sometimes, as here, closely connected with the substantive, need stand in no logical relation to it. Cp. c. 115, l. 10 οἱ γὰρ με παῖδες...ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα.

22. κατὰ πρῦμνην 'near the stern,' which would be beached, the prow perhaps being in the water.

23. ἦν θυμὸς sc. ὠνέεσθαι. Cp. viii. 116 ἢ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον.

24. διακελευσαμένους 'having passed the word one to another,' cp. iii. 77. For δια-, denoting succession, cp. διαδέχομαι, διαδίδωμι.

26. ἐσβαλομένους sc. τὰς γυναῖκας 'having put them on board their ship.' Cp. vi. 95.

27. ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου 'for Egypt.' For ἐπί with gen. denoting direction, cp. ἐπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου, c. 164, l. 18, and the common ἐπ' οἴκου 'homewards.'

CHAPTER II.

1. οὕτω μὲν resumes Περσέων μὲν κ.τ.λ. c. 1, l. 7.

2. οὐκ ὡς Ἕλληνες. For the Greek story see H. G. Ind. The substitution of Φοίνικες for Ἕλληνες which some critics, comparing c. 5, l. 4, have suggested, is wholly unnecessary.

3. τοῦτο, subject. For the pleonasm πρῶτον ἀρξαι, cp. c. 4, l. 3.

7. εἶσαν δ' ἄν. 'These would be Cretans,' cp. c. 70, l. 17. A precise parallel in Thuc. i. 9 αὐταὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολλαὶ εἶσαν 'these islands would not be many.' The optatives are potential, expressing

that the thing *may* or *is likely to be* as stated. For a corresponding interrogative form cp. Soph. *Electr.* 1450 ποῦ δῆτ' ἄν εἴεν οἱ ξένοι; 'where will the strangers be?' as a Scotchman might say. Goodwin *M. T.* § 238.

The pirates who carried off Europa 'would be Cretans,' because at this mythical epoch the Cretans were the greatest sea-faring people in the Aegean, and because the kidnapped princess became the mother of king Minos. It is clear that the Cretans of the Minoan age have no claim to the title of Hellenes (l. 4). The builders of Cnossus apparently belonged to the so-called 'Mediterranean Race,' which dominated the Aegean basin before the irruption of Hellenic and other Aryan tribes from the North.

8. ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα 'measure for measure.' Cp. iv. 50 ἐν πρὸς ἐν συμβάλλειν 'to compare them singly.' ix. 48 ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους.

10. μακρῆ νηί, the Argo. With the 'long ship' or ship of war contrast the 'round ship' or merchantman of c. 163, l. 5.

12. τᾶλλα, the quest of the golden fleece. ἀπίκατο. -ατο is the ending of the 3rd plur. pluperfect middle in Herodotus, though -ντο occurs, e.g. ἐπέπαιναντο in c. 83, l. 9. In -εω verbs -η is shortened into -ε before the ending, thus ὀρμέατο, c. 83, l. 5. Smyth *Ionic Dialect*, § 616. -αται, -ατο survive in Attic Greek where -νται -ντο would be unpronounceable. Cp. the Thucydidean τετάχεται, ἐφθάρηται.

15. ἀπαιτεῖν means 'to ask back what is one's own,' c. 3, l. 7. Cp. the use of ἀποδιδόναι, c. 13, l. 7. τοὺς δὲ 'the Greeks' understood from τὴν Ἑλλάδα, cp. c. 3, l. 8.

16. οὐδὲ...οὐδὲ 'as neither the Phoenicians had given satisfaction... so neither would they.' There is a slight looseness in the use of οὐδὲ...οὐδὲ which join words not co-ordinate in construction.

17. αὐτοί. The nominative would only be justifiable if οἱ δὲ ὑπεκρίναντο had preceded. Herodotus forgets that the principal subject is itself in the accusative case. So in ii. 141 καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν...αὐτὸς γὰρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωροῦς, 'and in his vision the god seemed to stand by and encourage him; for he (the god) would himself send him helpers,' cp. ii. 118, ii. 162.

The fact that Phoenicians and Colchians were both Asiatic 'barbarians' was apparently held by the Greeks sufficient reason for regarding them as mutually responsible for their several misdeeds. H. C. Rawlinson does not help matters by suggesting an ethnic relationship between the two races. Were there such a relationship, the Greeks would hardly know of it.

CHAPTER III.

1. **δευτέρῃ...γενεῇ** 'in the next generation.' *ἡμέρη δευτέρῃ*, c. 82, 3 l. 27, 'the next day,' *τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει*, vi. 31 'a year later.'
4. **ἐπιστάμενον** 'feeling sure,' a shade of meaning peculiar to Herodotus, c. 122, l. 4, c. 156, l. 3. *ἐπιστάτο δόξῃ*, viii. 132.
5. **διδόναι**, imperfect infinitive expressing the persistency of their attitude. Contrast *δόντες* below, l. 9.
6. **πέμψαντας**. For a dative followed by an accusative with the infinitive cp. c. 19, l. 9, c. 53, l. 16, c. 129, l. 12.
- 8—10. **τοὺς δὲ...** 'the Trojans, when the Greeks made these representations, alleged against them the rape of Medea, saying that the Greeks were desiring satisfaction to be rendered them by others, though they had not given any themselves or surrendered the lady when restitution was demanded.'

προῖσχομένοις agreeing with *σφι* would have been simpler but not so forcible, cp. the genitive absolute *ἀπαιτεόντων* below. For *προφέρειν* in the sense of 'allege against,' cp. viii. 61 *ταῦτα δὲ οἱ προέφερε ὅτι ἠλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι*.

10. **σφι**, equivalent to *ἑωυτοῖς*.

This passage dealing with the causes of the war between Greeks and Barbarians is parodied by Aristophanes in the *Acharnians*, ll. 523—529, the earliest reference (B.C. 425) to Herodotus' work in any Greek author.

CHAPTER IV.

2. **τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου** 'thenceforward,' c. 199, l. 23. Compare *τὸ νῦν*, *τὸ πρῶτον*, *τὸ πρόσω*, etc.
3. **δῆ** as it were underlines "Ἕλληνας."
6. **ἀρπασθισέων**, genitive absolute. *τιμωρέειν* depends on *σπουδῆν ποιήσασθαι*. To take the genitive as dependent on *σπουδῆν* and *τιμωρέειν* as epexegetic infinitive (Abicht) is unnecessarily involved.
8. **δῆλα**, c. 207, l. 17. Similar plurals are *ἀδύνατα*, c. 91, l. 3, *οἶά τε*, c. 194, l. 24, *βεβουλευμένα*, c. 112, l. 15, *βιώσιμα*, iii. 109.
9. **εἰ μὴ ἐβούλοντο...** 'if they had not been willing, they would not have been carried away.' In past suppositions contrary to fact, where *recurrent* events are in question, Greek naturally uses the

imperfect. Goodwin *M. T.* § 410 quotes Plato *Gorgias* 516 E, εἰ ἦσαν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, ὡς σὺ φής, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ταῦτα ἔπασχον 'they would never have suffered these things' (referring to several cases).

10. τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, in explanatory apposition with σφέας.

14. ἀπὸ τούτου, temporal as in l. 2.

15. τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν 'the Hellenic race,' vii. 139, 145; viii. 144.

16. βάρβαρα. The Persians are thus made to renounce all claim to the Asiatic Greeks. It is not clear why. Stein is perhaps right in bracketing the word. For this ancient 'Monroe doctrine' cp. ix. 116 τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι εἶναι Πέρσαι. "The most remarkable occasion on which they availed themselves of such a plea was when Darius invaded Scythia. According to Herodotus, he asserted, and the Scythians believed, that his invasion was designed to punish them for having attacked the Medes, and held possession of Upper Asia for a number of years, at a time when Persia was a tributary nation to Media. (See Herod. iv. 1 and 118—9.)" Rawlinson.

18. ἡγγνται. This perfect is commonly used by Herodotus in the sense of 'think,' c. 126, l. 27; c. 136, l. 5.

CHAPTER V.

4 1. οὕτω μὲν resumes Περσέων μὲν in c. 1, l. 7.

4. οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσησι οὕτω, a mixture of two expressions οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσησι and οὐ λέγουσι οὕτω ὡς Πέρσαι [Stein].

Naturally the Phoenicians refused to own to discreditable stories like the present. A similar case of kidnapping is related of them by Homer *Od.* xv. 403 f. At the instigation of a Phoenician sailor a nurse carries off the royal child Eumaeus with three golden goblets from her master's palace. In Homer the Phoenician trader is 'a man of cunning mind' ἀπατήλια εἰδώς. But though the Phoenicians doubtless displayed no small degree of commercial dexterity, it can hardly be supposed that they indulged with any frequency in acts of piracy. They could not have built up or retained their flourishing trade, if they habitually inflicted such outrages upon their customers.

6. ὡς...νεός, dependent on λέγουσι and so logically co-ordinate with the acc. and infin. αὐτὴν...συνεκπλῶσαι.

8. αἰδιομένη, though in sense belonging to the principal clause, is attracted into the case of the subject of the subordinate clause. Grammatically the apodosis begins with the emphatic οὕτω δή.

ἐθελοντήν, adverb. Cp. vi. 25.

11. οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων 'I am not going to say.' Cp. ἔρχομαι φράσων, c. 194, l. 2. Goodwin *M. T.* § 895.

12. τὸν 'whom,' resumed by τοῦτον, l. 14. Cp. c. 113, l. 3 τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδοῖ.... τὸν is of course Croesus.

15. ἄστυα ἀνθρώπων, an Homeric reminiscence. *Od.* i. 3 πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστυα. ἐπεξιών 'going over, visiting in thought.'

17. αὐτῶν is weaker than τούτων, the demonstrative which usually takes up a preceding relative, cp. l. 14. So in ii. 35 οἱ resumes the relative τῆς.

ἦν, 'cities which were great in my time.' In ii. 30 we find the usual antithesis of tenses. ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ...κατὰ ταῦτὰ αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου ἦσαν. Unless ἦν is a textual error for ἐστὶ due to the neighbourhood of ἦν in ll. 16, 18, Herod. must be thinking of cities great no longer.

Thucydides i. 10 dwells upon the same point with particular reference to the decayed Mycenae. Rawlinson points out that the Ionian Phocaea and the Italian Sybaris, near which Thurii was built, would be cases of decline within Herodotus' immediate experience.

19. ἐν τῷτῳ μένουσαν 'remaining stable,' a favourite expression with the early Italian philosophers. Cp. Parmenides 90 ταῦτόν τ' ἐν ταῦτῳ τε μένον sc. τὸ ἐόν, Stein. For the sentiment cp. note on c. 32, l. 6; c. 207, l. 11.

CHAPTER VI.

2. ἐντὸς Ἄλυος, i.e. to the west of the Halys. Croesus' dominions are within the Halys from the point of view of a Greek living on the west coast of Asia Minor. Cp. c. 174, l. 14.

3. Συρίων, the Syrians of Cappadocia. Cp. c. 72, l. 2.

4. ἐξιεῖ for ἐξίησι, as though from ἐξιέω, which however does not occur. Cp. c. 180, l. 5; c. 191, l. 5. Herodotus also uses ἀνιέι, ἀπιέι, κατιέι, μετιέι. With ἐξιεῖ cp. the intransitive ἐκδιδοῖ, c. 80, l. 6. Contrast vii. 109 ἐς τὴν ποταμοὶ δύο ἐσιέισι τὸ ὕδωρ.

For a fuller description of the Halys see c. 72 and H. G. Ind.

7. ἀπαγωγὴν 'payment,' c. 27, l. 2. Cp. iii. 89 ἀργύριον ἀπαγινέειν, 5 Thuc. v. 53 θύματος...δ δέον ἀπαγαγέειν οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον. For ἀπο- implying the notion of something *due*, cp. ἀπαιτέειν, c. 2, l. 15, and probably ἀποπέμπειν, c. 14, l. 3; c. 51, l. 2.

9. τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ belongs only to Δωριέας.

12. **στράτευμα** 'expedition.' Cp. iii. 48, 49 τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον. For the Cimmerians see c. 15, l. 10; c. 103, l. 17.

13. **πρεσβύτερον** 'senior' is properly applied to persons. As applied to things it generally means 'more august, important,' like the Latin *antiquior*. Cp. v. 63.

14. **ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆ** 'plundering raid,' literally 'plundering resulting from a raid.'

CHAPTER VII.

1. **περιῆλθε**, often used of sovereignty passing from one hand to another. Cp. c. 120, l. 28; c. 187, l. 11. So *περιχωρέειν* in c. 210, l. 4.

2. **καλομένους**, attracted into the gender of the predicate.

3. **Κανδαύλης**. Nicholas of Damascus, following the Lydian historian Xanthus, calls this prince Sadyattes. See H. G. Ind. The name Candaules appears to have had religious associations. Hesychius says it was applied to 'Hermes or Heracles.' Tzetzes (12th cent. A.D.) remarks τὸ δὲ Κανδαύλης Λυδικῶς τὸν σκυλλοπνίκτην (whelp-throttler) λέγει, ὥσπερ Ἴππῶναξ δέικνυσι γράφων ἰάμβῳ πρώτῳ Ἑρμῆ κυνάγχα, Μηρονιστὶ (in the Lydian language) Κανδαύλα. See Stein's note.

Μυρσίλον. H. C. Rawlinson supposes this to be a patronymic (cp. l. 7 ὁ Μύρσον) of Latin or Etruscan type and hence argues the Lydian origin of the Etruscans. Myrsilus however, according to Herodotus' own showing, is a Greek rather than a Lydian name, and may have been given by the Greeks to Candaules not merely because he was son of Myrsus but because of a supposed connexion between him and their own hero Myrtilus (cp. Bähr *ad loc.*). Myrtilus and Candaules are both associated with Hermes.

4. **Σαρδίων**, frequently used by Herodotus for Lydia. Sardis was the official title of the second Persian satrapy, iii. 120.

5. **τοῦ Ἡρακλέος**. τοῦ belongs to the preceding word, not to Ἡρακλέος. The Greeks identified their Heracles with the Oriental sungod Sandan. Agron 'the Hunter' suggests the Scriptural Nimrod. Ninus is the fictitious founder of Nineveh, and Belus the Babylonian Baal. Further information about these personages will be found in H. G. Ind.

The presence of Semitic names in this genealogy has been taken as indicating a Semitic element in the population of Lydia or an early

conquest of Lydia by the Assyrians. The latter alternative is not probable because, according to the tablets of Assur-bani-pal, when Gyges' ambassadors arrived at Nineveh (B.C. 660) no one knew who they were or had even heard of the name of Lydia (Sayce, *ad loc.*). On the other hand there is much evidence to show that peoples of Semitic origin were widely scattered over Asia Minor in very early times.

7. οἱ δὲ πρότερον, the dynasty of the so-called Atyadae who traced their descent from the divine Manes. Cp. c. 94, l. 10.

9. ἅπ' ὅτεν, emphatic, 'him from whom.' For ὅστις used of a definite antecedent instead of ὅς, cp. c. 145, l. 8. Euripides, *Hipp.* 943 σκέψασθε δ' ἐς τόνδ' ὅστις ἐξ ἐμοῦ γεγώς, κ.τ.λ.

10. Μηίων. Cp. vii. 74 οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ Μηίονες ἐκαλεῦντο τὸ πάλαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος ἔσχον τὴν ἐπωνυμίην, μεταβαλόντες τὸ οὐνομα. But as Homer knows only the name Μήρονες (*Il.* II. 864, 866), the change must have been long subsequent to the mythical epoch of Atys.

11. ἐπιτραφθέντες (from ἐπιτρέπω = Attic ἐπιτρέπω), sc. τὴν ἀρχήν. Cp. c. 70, l. 18 ἀπαιρεθείησαν, sc. τὸν κρητῆρα. 'From them the Heracleidae obtained the government, being entrusted with it by reason of an oracle.' Oracles were an important factor in the history of Lydia. Cp. c. 13, l. 2; c. 19, l. 11 and the story of Croesus.

12. δούλης, by name Malis. See H. G. Ind. *art.* Ἰάρδανος.

13. ἄρξαντες μὲν, owing to the interruption occasioned by the story of Gyges, lacks a grammatical antithesis, e.g. καταλυθέντες δέ (Abicht).

14. δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεάς. Herodotus generally reckons three generations to a century, ii. 142. In the case of the Heracleidae 22 generations last 505 years, which gives only 23 years to a generation. Herodotus is here concerned not with ideal, but with actual, or what he conceived to be actual, generations. As the crown descended uniformly from father to son, the number of sovereigns was also 22, and each reigned on the average 23 years. In the English royal family a generation lasts about 28 years and an average reign about 20.

15. παῖς ἐκδεκόμενος, an instance of so-called Partial Apposition. Cp. ii. 166 and especially ii. 41 where ὑπερέχοντα (accus. sing.) takes up τοὺς ἔρσενας.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. ἠράσθη 'became passionately fond of,' ingressive aorist. 6 Cp. ἔσχον, c. 7, l. 12, τυραννέσας, c. 14, l. 3.

2. **ἔρασθῆις**. It is a favourite trick of Herodotus to repeat in participial form at the beginning of a new clause the verb of the preceding clause. Cp. c. 19, l. 4; c. 189, l. 16.

3. **ὥστε** 'since.' Cp. c. 73, l. 13. Attic would write ἄτε, which Herod. also uses in this sense.

4. **γάρ**. In Herod., as in Homer, a clause introduced by γάρ frequently precedes the words which it is intended to explain. Cp. below, ll. 10, 11. Such explanatory clauses are characteristic of the λέξις *ειρομένη* or 'running style' of early writers. **αἰχμοφόρων** in the specialised sense of 'bodyguard.' Cp. the χίλιοι αἰχμοφόροι of the Persian king, vii. 40.

6. **σπουδαιέστερα**. Cp. σπουδαιέστατα, c. 133, l. 15, but -ότατα, ii. 86, ἀμορφεστάτην, c. 196, l. 20. **ὑπερετίθετο** 'used to communicate,' cp. c. 107, l. 6; c. 108, l. 5. The verb must be supplied with τὸ εἶδος below.

8. **χρῆν** 'it was fated.' Cp. c. 120, l. 5, and ii. 161 ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ εἶδε κακῶς γενέσθαι of the Egyptian Apries.

11. **ὧτα γάρ** gives the reason why Gyges should adopt the course suggested. Cp. l. 4 above. The sentiment is Heracleitean, frag. 15, ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ὧτων ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες (Stein).

13. **ἀμβώσας** for **ἀναβώσας**. Cp. ἀμπωτις, ἀμβολάδην, ἀμπαύεσθαι in Herod. Apocope is uncommon in Ionic prose, and Ionic inscriptions show not a single instance of it. Cp. Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, § 322.

16. **τὰ καλὰ** 'the things that are right,' contrasted with **ἄνομα**, l. 20 below. Beauty and ugliness appeared to the Greeks the most salient features of virtue and vice, hence their constant application of aesthetic terms to moral ideas.

CHAPTER IX.

2. **ἀρρωδέων**, in Attic ὀρρωδῶν. **ἐξ αὐτῶν** 'from the matter.' For αὐτά used in this indefinite way cp. c. 89, l. 8; c. 94, l. 9.

4. **ὡς...λέγω..., μὴ γένηται**. Note the two different constructions after φοβεῦ corresponding to the English 'do not fear that I am saying this to try you' and 'do not fear lest any harm may come upon you.' In the first instance φοβεῦ is followed by an object clause just like an ordinary verb of saying. Cp. Xen. *Cyr.* v. 2. 12 ἀνδρὸς μὴ φοβοῦ ὡς ἀπορήσεις ἀξίου 'do not fear that you will be at a loss for a worthy man.' Goodwin, *M. T.* § 371.

5. **λόγον τόνδε.** ὄδε and οὗτος occur frequently in Herodotus without the article, c. 35, l. 19. Cp. note on c. 21, l. 7.

6. **ἀρχὴν** 'from the outset,' cp. c. 86, l. 28; c. 140, l. 15. Originally an appositional accusative meaning 'at the start' it comes to be used adverbially in the sense of 'absolutely, assuredly,' or, with a negative, 'at all,' cp. c. 193, l. 14.

9. **τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης,** properly, 'the opening door.' We should have expected the aorist or perfect participle. ἀνοίγω is not a verb which naturally signifies a completed action or state, like ἀλίσκομαι, νικάω, φεύγω (cp. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 27), and it is not easy to see why Herodotus should emphasise the *process* of opening. **μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα,** like the Latin *post urbem conditam*, cp. c. 34, l. 1.

10. **ἐς κοῖτον.** κοῖτος in Herod. is not so much 'a bed' (κοίτη, 7 c. 10, l. 6), as 'the act of going to bed.' Cp. κοῖτον ἐποιέετο, vii. 17, and Homer, *Od.* xix. 515 ἐπὴν νύξ ἔλθη, ἔλθῃσι τε κοῖτος ἅπαντας.

12. **κατὰ ἕναστος** 'each of her garments one by one,' κατὰ being used distributively as in κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστος, c. 54, l. 6 'man by man.'

13. **παρέξει σοι** probably impersonal, 'there will be an opportunity for you,' as often in Herod. Cp. iii. 142 παρέχει μοι νῦν ὑμέων ἀρχεῖν.

15. **τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν** 'next,' adverbial.

CHAPTER X.

3. **Γύγαια,** c. 11, l. 4, but Γύγην, c. 8, l. 9. Proper nouns of the 1st or -a declension frequently make their accusative in -εα as though their stems ended in -εσ. Cp. Ἀστυάγαια, Ἀλυάτταια, Κανθαύλαια, Ξέρξαια (though the regular Ξέρξην is commoner). The -εα form has attacked appellatives as well, cp. δεσπότηα, c. 11, l. 19. Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, § 438.

7. **ὑπεκδύς,** i.e. from his hiding-place. **ἐχώρει ἔξω** 'was on his way out.' Notice the vivid present which follows.

8. **ποιηθὲν ἐκ,** cp. c. 1, l. 2. **οὔτε ἀνέβρωσε κ.τ.λ.** 'did not cry out in shame but appeared not to have noticed.'

12. **καὶ ἄνδρα** 'even for a man,' to say nothing of a woman. **φέρει.** For a similar intransitive use cp. iv. 90, ἐς ἀκεσιν φέροντα 'conducive to healing.' Cp. also c. 120, l. 13; c. 159, l. 15.

In Herodotus' age Greek differed widely from Oriental sentiment in regard to nudity and found nothing indelicate in the sight of the unclothed male form. Although Plato says that not so long before

his time it was considered disgraceful for a man to be seen naked (*Her.* 452 C), the practice of athletic nudity was universal in Greece by the 5th century B.C. (Thuc. I. 6) and nude male statues were common a century earlier. However, no artist dared to represent an undraped female until the 4th century B.C. The feelings of a Greek lady of Gyges' time under an indignity such as is here described would perhaps have been hardly less outraged than those of Candaules' wife, even though her revenge might not have taken so bloodthirsty a form.

CHAPTER XI.

1. οὕτω 'as I have said,' c. 10, ll. 8, 9.

4. ἐκάλεε 'had him summoned.' The process is regarded as taking time, hence the imperfect. Cp. *καλεόμενος*, l. 5, *ἔλεγε*, l. 6 (a much commoner tense than *ἔλεξε*).

6. ὅκως 'whenever,' frequently used by Herod. in a temporal sense to express indefinite frequency, c. 17, l. 3; c. 68, l. 30 etc.

8 11. οὕτω. She points to the daggers of her attendants.

12. τοῦ λοιποῦ 'in the future,' c. 189, l. 13, slightly different from τὸ λοιπὸν which expresses future *duration*.

16. μὴ μιν...ἐνδεῖν 'not to bind him (μιν) by necessity.' Cp. ix. 16 *ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι*. μιν is here an indirect reflexive.

17—20. οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἔπειθε...αἰρέεται. Similar asyndeton occurs after a clause introduced by οὐκ ὦν in c. 59, l. 13. Compare also iv. 118 οὐκ ὦν ποιήσετε ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώραν, 'suppose then you will not do this. We shall either be compelled to leave the land...' In such constructions the first clause is for practical purposes equivalent to a subordinate clause introduced by ἐπειδὴ, εἰ, γάρ or some such word, and the feeling that this is so may account for the absence of a particle connecting the two clauses. Sometimes the second member opens with δὴ, cp. c. 24, l. 14 (with note) and iv. 11 οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι...τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι βουλεύεσθαι 'as they were not willing to agree...the people resolved to depart.' See also c. 206, l. 7. The idiom seems peculiar to Herodotus.

19. δεσπότεια, an anomalous accusative, as though δεσπότης were a 3rd declension substantive of -ες stem. So ἀκινάκεια, iii. 118, for ἀκινάκην, vii. 54. Cp. note on c. 10, l. 3.

22. φέρε ἀκούσω. Hortative subjunctive. The 1st pers. sing. is not so common in this construction as the 1st pers. plur. and is almost

always introduced by ἄγε, φέρε or an equivalent word. Goodwin *M. T.* § 257.

τέψ και τρόψ. και emphasises τρόψ. 'You tell me I must murder my master, let me now hear how.'

CHAPTER XII.

6. τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην 'the same door' as that behind which Candaules had hidden him.

7, 8. ἔσχε...τὴν βασιλίην. For another story of Gyges' rise to power cp. H. G. Ind. *art.* Κανδαύλης. Cp. also Plato's tale of 'the ancestor of Gyges the Lydian' who by aid of a magic ring which rendered him invisible 'seduced the queen, with her connivance slew the king and seized the throne' (*Rep.* 360 B, 612 B).

8—10. [τοῦ και...ἐπεμνήσθη...]. The passage is with good reason bracketed as an interpolation by Stein, after Wesseling, (1) because it interrupts the run of the passage, (2) because in Herodotus' time Gyges was far too well known to require a citation from Archilochus, and (3) because ἐν λάμβψ τριμέτρψ is a late technical expression for which Herodotus himself uses ἐν τριμέτρψ τόνψ, c. 174, l. 23. Archilochus' reference to Gyges is contained in a line preserved by Aristotle *Rhet.* III. 17. 16 οὗ μοι τὰ Γυγέω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει, which he says was put into the mouth of one Charon, a carpenter.

9. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον. Hauvette, the latest writer on Archilochus, places his floruit in B.C. 665. See *Classical Review*, vol. XXI. p. 143.

10. τριμέτρψ. For the purposes of iambic and trochaic verse a μέτρον is a double foot.

CHAPTER XIII.

4. συνέβησαν ἐς τῶντό 'came to an agreement that.' Cp. c. 53, l. 13. The terms of agreement are generally introduced by ὥστε with the infinitive, c. 82, l. 12.

7. τὸν δέ. δέ is not contrasted with μέν but merely introduces the apodosis. Cp. v. 1 ἦν μέν...ἐπικαλέσωνται σφεας οἱ Περίνθιοι...τοὺς δέ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἦν δέ μὴ κ.τ.λ., ii. 39 τοῖσι μέν...οἱ δέ..., τοῖσι δέ...οἱ δέ...

11. πέμπτον. Croesus, on whom the vengeance fell, was only

fourth in descent from Gyges. Herod. reckons in Gyges himself. The inaccuracy is due to the Greek habit of counting inclusively.

ἔπειος, used of an oracular utterance also in vii. 143. Stein supposes the oracle ran πέμπτην δ' εἰς γενεὴν ἤξει τίσις Ἡρακλείδαις.

CHAPTER XIV.

3. **τυραννεύσας.** Cp. note on c. 8, l. 1. The five Mermnad kings together reigned 170 years according to Herodotus. As the Lydian empire fell in 546 B.C., Gyges on this computation must have begun to reign in 716 B.C. But this is much too early. Radet (*La Lydie*, pp. 150 f.) dates his reign at 687—652 B.C. (The dates assigned to the Lydian kings in the running analysis of contents are calculated on the Herodotean basis.)

ἀπέπεμψε 'sent back' as a due. Cp. note on c. 6, l. 7.

4. **ἀλλ' ὅσα...ἀναθήματα** sc. ἐστὶ 'of all the silver offerings at Delphi he has most,' i.e. no one has dedicated so many as he.

7. **κρητῆρες.** Instead of writing ἄλλον τε...καὶ κρητῆρας ἐξ χρυσέους he emphasises the importance of the offering by making it the subject of a new clause.

8. **ἀνακέαται.** ἀνάκειμαι is regularly used as the perf. pass. of ἀνατίθημι. τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ. A large number of Greek states (cp. Pausanias x. 11—13) had treasuries at Delphi which they built primarily for the reception of their own offerings and sacred utensils but into which they sometimes admitted by courtesy those of foreign states. The Corinthian treasury was probably the earliest and certainly among the wealthiest of them all (cp. l. 16; c. 50, l. 19; c. 51, l. 15; iv. 62). The remains of many of these treasuries have recently been excavated.

9. **τρίηκοντα τάλαντα,** about 1730 lbs. A talent is 57 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.

10. **χρεωμένῳ** 'to one employing.' Similar datives are ἐσίοντι, c. 51, l. 5, μεσοῦντι, c. 181, l. 13.

15. **ἐς,** because προκατίζων implies previous motion. προκατίζων 'sitting in public,' cp. c. 97, l. 5.

19. **Γυγάδας.** The form of the word is Doric. Herod. is quoting the exact expression used at Delphi.

ἐπωνυμίην, internal or cognate accus. with καλέεται. For ἐπί= 'after,' cp. c. 94, l. 36 ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιουμένους.

CHAPTER XV.

2. **καὶ οὗτος** 'he also,' like his successors mentioned below. 10 Others take it to mean 'like Croesus,' referring back to c. 6, l. 8. **ἦρξε**, cp. c. 8, l. 1.

3. **ἐς Σμύρνην**. According to Pausanias (IV. 21. 5, IX. 29. 4) Gyges actually got possession of Smyrna but was soon expelled by the Ionians, who behaved with the utmost gallantry. Mimnermus wrote an elegy on the battle. **τὸ ἄστυ** 'the town' as opposed to the citadel. Cp. l. 12 and viii. 51 **αἰρέουσι ἐρήμον τὸ ἄστυ**, where ἄστυ is contrasted with **τὴν ἀκρόπολιν** below. At this time the towns of Ionia were unwall'd, cp. c. 141, l. 19.

4. **ἀπ' αὐτοῦ**. Cp. c. 1, l. 2 and vi. 98 **τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων γενόμενα**.

7. **Ἄρδυος**. He probably reigned B.C. 652—615.

10. **ἐξ ἡθέων...ἐξαναστάντες** 'driven from their homes.' For **ἡθεα** 'accustomed haunts' cp. c. 157, l. 2, c. 162, l. 19.

11. **ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἄσίην**. Herodotus is here at fault. The Cimmerians were in Asia before the reign of Ardys, and Gyges had fallen in an engagement with them. See H. G. Ind. *art.* **Κιμμέριοι**.

12. **Σάρδις**. **-is** is the regular Ionic accus. plur. of **-ι** stems. **-ias** also occurs, cp. **πόλιας**, c. 94, l. 34.

CHAPTER XVI.

2. **ἔξειδάτο**, cp. c. 103, l. 1 and see next note.

3. **Σαδυάττω**. The full phrase occurs in ii. 112, **τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην**. According to Radet Sadyattes reigned 615—610, Alyattes 610—561 B.C. Herodotus' figures are throughout too high.

4. **Κυαξάρη τε...καὶ Μήδοισι** 'the Medes under Cyaxares.' For the form of expression Stein compares Caesar *B.G.* vi. 12 *Germanos atque Ariovistum*. The war is described in cc. 73, 74. **ἀπογόνῳ**, in reality, grandson.

6. **τὴν...κτισθεῖσαν** 'settled from Colophon.' See c. 150.

7. **τούτων**. The editors take this as masculine, understanding **Κλαζομενίων** out of **Κλαζομενάς**, cp. c. 151, l. 6. But in all probability **τούτων**, not **τουτέων**, is the true Ionic feminine form. Cp. Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, § 447, 3.

8. **οὐκ ὡς ἠθέλε**. Bähr compares Eurip. *Andr.* 1169 **δέχει γὰρ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖον σκύμνον ἐς οἴκους, οὐχ ὡς σὺ θέλεις**. Cp. also c. 32, l. 9.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. παραδεξάμενος 'having inherited.' So π. τὴν ἀρχήν, c. 102, l. 3.

3. ἐπελαύνων ἐπολιόρκει 'he used to march against Miletus and besiege it.' ὄκως...εἴη, cp. c. 11, l. 6.

5. ὑπὸ 'to the accompaniment of.' Cp. Xen. *Hell.* II. 2. 23 τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων. The σῦριγξ, modern Panspipe, was a row of reed-pipes of varying lengths fastened together with glue, and was used chiefly by rustics (cp. Plato, *Rep.* 399 D). The πηκτίς was similar to the μάγαδις, a harp of 20 strings, of which the higher 10 were the octaves of the lower (hence μαγαδίσειν 'to play in octaves').

6. αὐλοῦ...ἀνδρηίου, treble and bass clarinets corresponding to the higher and lower pitches of the female and the male human voice. In Latin they were called *tibia dextra* and *tibia sinistra*. Both were played at once by a single performer. As this composite instrument was sometimes called μάγαδις (see last note), the 'female' was probably pitched an octave above the 'male' clarinet. The Greeks themselves frequently used the simple αὐλός in warfare, cp. Thuc. v. 70 Λακεδαιμόνιοι (χωροῦντες) ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν νόμου ἐγκαθεστῶτων, but Alyattes' elaborate military band savoured to them of Oriental effeminacy. Cp. Gellius I. 11, who however partially misunderstands the passage, Alyattes...more atque luxu barbarico praeditus...fistulatores et fidicines atque *feminas etiam tibicinas* in exercitu habuit, lascivientium delicias conviviorum.

11 9. α. εἰώ always unaugmented in Herodotus. κατὰ χώραν 'in their place,' 'as they were.' ὁ δὲ Alyattes. The opposition is not between the subjects of the two clauses, which are indeed identical, but between οἰκήματα and τὰ τε δένδρεα κ.τ.λ. δέ in fact appears to emphasise the wrong word. The usage is very common in Herodotus. Cp. c. 48, l. 6; c. 66, l. 16; c. 107, l. 10; c. 131, l. 6.

12. ἐπέδρης...στρατιῆ 'it was no use for the army to beleaguer them.' Cp. iii. 127 ἐνθα γὰρ σοφίης δεῖ, βίης ἔργον οὐδέν.

14. ὁ Λυδός 'the Lydian king.' Cp. c. 22, l. 7, iii. 9 ὁ Ἀράβιος.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. ἕτεα ἑνδεκα. The war continued for 11 years (c. 615—604 B.C.). Sadyattes carried it on for the first 6, Alyattes for the remaining 5 years. So we must either, with Woods, understand as subject of ἐπολέμεε not Alyattes but ὁ Λυδός, a title embracing both the two kings,

or else suppose that Herod. is writing somewhat loosely and corrects himself below.

2. **τρώματα** 'defeats,' vi. 132 *μετὰ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι τρώμα γενόμενον. διφάσια*, an Ionic word, properly 'twofold' but here simply 'two.' Cp. ii. 17 *διφάσια στόματα*, 'two mouths' of the Nile.

4. **τὰ ἕξ**. The article is used with numbers representing a definite fraction of a definite amount, c. 142, l. 18; c. 166, l. 10.

6. **τηνικαῦτα**, i.e. at harvest time, c. 17, l. 4. **τὴν Μιλησίην**, sc. *γῆν*.

12. **οὔδαμοι**. In Attic found only in such adverbial forms as *οὔδαμῶς, οὔδαμόθεν*.

13. **ὄτι μὴ** 'except,' c. 143, l. 18; c. 181, l. 20.

15. **συνδιήνεικαν** 'helped to bring to a conclusion.'

CHAPTER XIX.

2. **συνηνέχθη** 'it happened.' The active *συνήνεικε* occurs in the same sense, c. 73, l. 17.

4. **ἐπίκλησιν**, originally a cognate accusative, cp. Hesiod, *Theog.* 207 *Τιτῆνας ἐπίκλησιν καλέεσκεν*, and in the passive *ἐπίκλησιν δὲ αὐτῆ ἡ κρήνη καλέεται Ἴλλου*, Herod. iv. 181. Here it is a mere adverb. Cp. *ἐπωνυμίην*, c. 14, l. 19.

5. **λόγος οὔδεις ἐγένετο** 'no account was taken of it.'

9. **ἔδοξε**. For the irregular connexion of participle and finite verb coordinate in sense, cp. ix. 5 *εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ ἐάνδανε*. 12

10. **πέμψαντα**, cp. c. 3, l. 6.

12. **πρὶν ἢ...ἀνορθώσωσι**, c. 32, l. 26. Attic would have written *πρὶν ἂν* with the subj. Homer never uses *ἂν* with *πρὶν*, a construction first occurring in Theognis 963. In Herodotus the usage is in a transitional state. He not infrequently employs *ἂν* with *πρὶν* (cp. c. 32, l. 41), but never with *πρὶν ἢ*.

CHAPTER XX.

1. **Δελφῶν**. The effect of the asyndeton is to heighten the contrast between *Δελφῶν* and *Μιλήσιοι*. **οὔτω** with *γενέσθαι*, which depends on *οἶδα*. For the infin. after a verb of knowing cp. c. 122, l. 5. Goodwin *M. T.* § 915.

6. **ὄκως ἂν** 'in order that.' The subj. with *ἂν* is used instead of the optative for greater vividness. **τι** with *βουλεύηται*.

CHAPTER XXI.

2. ταῦτα. See c. 19, ll. 11—13.

5. ὁ μὲν δὴ...ἦν. 'He then (i.e. the herald) was sent as envoy to Miletus,' ἀπόστολος ἦν equalling ἀπεσταλμένος ἦν. For a similar predicative use of ἀπόστολος cp. v. 38 δεύτερα αὐτὸς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τριήρει ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο.

7. πάντα λόγον 'the whole story,' τὸν πάντα λόγον in c. 111, l. 27; c. 122, l. 9. Cp. c. 111, l. 13 οἶκος πᾶς 'the whole house,' v. 46 παντὶ στόλῳ 'in full force.' Herodotus is somewhat prone to omit the article after the fashion of Homer and the poets generally.

12. κώμῳ...ἀλλήλους 'to make merry one with another.' For the periphrasis = κωμάζειν, cp. c. 5, l. 5, ἀρπαγῇ χρησαμένους, iv. 134 βοῇ χρωμένωνων.

CHAPTER XXII.

13 6. εἶπας, the true Ionic form of aorist according to the grammarian Gregory of Corinth, but Herod. sometimes uses εἰπῶν, c. 27, l. 7.

8. ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι belongs to the following words. Cp. c. 34, l. 2 ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε κ.τ.λ., c. 78, l. 4 ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι (Krüger).

9. ἡ διαλλαγή 'the peace,' not merely the truce that Alyattes wanted at first, c. 21, l. 4.

11. τετρῦσθαι...κακοῦ. Cp. ii. 129 τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ.

13. κατεδόκει. The word is chiefly Herodotean and properly means 'to think something to one's prejudice,' but it often loses this sinister significance like our English word 'suspect.'

14. ξείνους...καὶ συμμάχους, they were to be friends in peace, united by ties of mutual hospitality, as well as allies in war. Cp. c. 69, l. 14.

16. οἰκοδόμησε. οἰ- is never augmented in Herodotus.

17. ἀνέστη 'recovered.' Thuc. II. 49 ἀναστάντας (without νόσου) 'on their recovery.'

18. ἔσχε ingressive 'so came to pass,' c. 71, l. 1; c. 92, l. 2.

CHAPTER XXIII.

4. **Λέσβιοι**. As fellow-countrymen of Arion they were likely to know the true story.

5, 6. **Ἄριονα...ἐπὶ Ταίναρον** 'Arion of Methymna's coming to shore at Taenarum,' a participial phrase (cp. c. 9, l. 9) in apposition with **θῶμα**. **ἔξενειχθέντα**, sc. *ἐκ θαλάσσης*.

7. **οὐδενός**, genitive of comparison. Cp. note on c. 91, l. 15.

8. **διθύραμβον**, a ritual song in honour of Dionysus. The word is probably connected with **θρίαμβος**, an epithet of Dionysus, cp. Latin *triumphus*, **δι-** meaning 'divine,' cp. **δῖος**. It is first mentioned by Archilochus (c. 665 B.C.), frag. 77,

ὡς Διωνύσοι' ἀνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος

οἶδα διθύραμβον, οἶνω συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας,

a passage which seems to show that the earliest form of the dithyramb was a monody sung by a reveller, "attended perhaps, if we insist on the meaning of *ἐξάρξαι*, by a refrain on the part of the other revellers" (H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets*, p. XLVI). Arion, who flourished at least 50 years later than Archilochus and therefore could not have *invented* or *named* the dithyramb, probably gave it a more artistic form, adding a regular chorus of 50 people, personating satyrs (*κύκλιος* or *τραγικὸς χορός*), who danced round an altar of Dionysus. He was doubtless the first to introduce the dithyramb into Corinth.

9. **διδάξαντα**. The poet himself trained the chorus which was to perform his work. Cp. vi. 21 *ποίησαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα καὶ διδάξαντι*. In Aristoph. *Frogs* 1026 Aeschylus says *εἶτα διδάξας Πέρσας μετὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐξεδίδαξα νικᾶν. ἐν Κορίνθῳ*. Pindar, *Olymp.* XIII. 18, agrees that Corinth is the true home of the dithyramb, but with a poet's licence elsewhere asserts the same of Thebes and Naxos. The Greeks knew nothing more of the origin of the dithyramb than we do.

CHAPTER XXIV.

2. **τὸν πολλόν**, attracted into the gender of *χρόνου*, cp. c. 68, l. 32, but *τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ πολλόν*, viii. 100. For a third construction cp. c. 102, l. 15.

3. **Ἰταλίην**. See H. G. Ind. for its meaning in Herodotus.

4. **ἐργασάμενον...μεγάλα** 'having made a great deal of money' by 14 his harping. According to Lucian (*Ἐνάλοιοι Διάλογοι* 8) he got his

riches from Periander and met with his marine adventures while sailing home to Methymna.

8. ἐν τῷ πελάγει 'in mid sea,' viii. 60, § 1 ἐν πελάγει ἀναπεπταμένῳ.

11—14. οὐκ ὦν δὴ...ἀπειληθέντα δὴ. Cp. note on c. 11, l. 17. Stein's emendation ἀπειληθέντα δὴ for the MS. ἀπ. δὲ brings the passage into line with the one there quoted from iv. 11. The sentence beginning οὐκ ὦν δὴ is really subordinate in sense to παραιτήσασθαι, l. 15, being briefly summarised by ἀπειληθέντα δὴ ἐς ἀπορίην. αὐτόν...μιν 'himself.' So αὐτήν μιν as a direct reflexive, ii. 100. Cp. σοι αὐτῷ, c. 108, l. 17, αὐτῷ ἐμοί, iii. 142. διαχρᾶσθαι 'make an end of.' Cp. καταχρᾶσθαι, c. 82, l. 45, and contrast c. 110, l. 20, c. 167, l. 13.

13. ὡς αἶν...τύχη. Burial of the dead body in the ground was considered essential to the soul's peace hereafter.

14. τὴν ταχίστην sc. ὁδόν, c. 73, l. 25; c. 81, l. 6; c. 86, l. 41. ἀπειληθέντα 'forced,' from ἀπ-ειλέω. Herod. does not use the passive of ἀπειλέω = threaten.

16. ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ 'in all his minstrel's garb,' the principal part of which would be a loose purple robe falling to the feet, like that worn by the famous statue of Apollo Citharoedus.

17. ἔδωλλοισι generally 'rowing-benches, thwarts,' here presumably a set of seats for the steersman and other officers at the vessel's stern. There is no need to regard it as meaning 'deck.' Cecil Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 57. ὑπέδεκετο. For the temporary lapse into direct statement cp. c. 86, l. 26.

18. καὶ τοῖσι κ.τ.λ., a sort of attraction for καὶ τοὺς, ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖσι...ἀναχωρήσαι. Anticipatory clauses introduced by γάρ (cp. c. 8, l. 4) frequently attract preceding substantives or pronouns into their own construction, cp. c. 114, l. 10, c. 155, l. 17.

20. ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης, they congregated amidships, leaving the stern as a platform for the singer. See note on l. 17.

22. νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον. νόμοι, in strong contrast to διθύραμβοι, were simple and dignified hymns rendered by a single performer with lyre accompaniment and generally addressed to Apollo. In the form which Terpander (c. 690 B.C.) gave them, they were divided into seven movements chiefly in hexameter rhythm though with iambic and trochaic measures interspersed. The 'orthian nome' was probably so named because it was pitched high—so high that a singer had been known to burst a bloodvessel in its performance. It was characterised by the use of a particular kind of iambic foot (πὸς ὄρθιος), to which

12 beats (*χρόνοι*) were counted, 4 to the arsis and 8 to the thesis. By Aristophanes' time the 'orthian' had become a lively popular air which 'everybody knew' (*Acharn.* 16, *Knights* 1278). See Smyth, *op. cit.* LVIII ff.

23. *μιν...έωυτόν.* Attic *αυτόν...έαυτόν*, cp. c. 82, l. 44 (Krüger).

30. *ούδαμη̄ μετιέντα* 'letting him go nowhere.' *άνακώς έχειν* 'watched carefully for,' viii. 109. Cp. Thuc. VIII. 102 *όπως αύτῶν άνακώς έξουσιν* 'that they may be on the look out for them.' The root appears in *άναξ*, *Άνακες* 'The Watchers,' viz. Castor and Pollux.

31. *παρεΐναι.* Herod. not infrequently uses the infinitive in subordinate clauses in *oratio obliqua* after relatives, temporal conjunctions and even after *εί*, c. 86, l. 18; c. 94, l. 32; c. 129, l. 15; c. 202, l. 10; c. 203, l. 12. *ιστορέεσθαι* 'were asked,' the sole instance of this passive in Herod.

33. *περί 'Ιταλίην* 'in Italy.' *περί* gives an air of vagueness to the expression. Cp. c. 27, l. 7.

34. *ώσπερ έχων έξεπήδησε* 'just as he was when he leapt from the ship.'

35. *καί τούς* 'and they,' to be separated from *έκπλαγέντας*. 15

37. *ανάθημα.* Pausanias (c. 170 A.D.) III. 25. 4 mentions the bronze statuette of Arion at Taenarum. Aelian (c. 200 A.D.) inspected it and quotes (*N. A.* XII. 45) the inscription on its base,

*άθανάτων πομπάισιν 'Αρίονα, Κύκλονος υἱόν,
έκ Σικελού πελάγους σώσεν όχημα τόδε.*

Probably this inscription was a late addition, the whole story of Arion's ride being due to a misinterpretation of a figure originally representing a marine god or hero bestriding his favourite animal, perhaps Taras or Phalanthus, reputed founders of Tarentum, who both crossed the seas from Taenarum to Southern Italy on dolphins.

CHAPTER XXV.

2. *μετέπειτα*, 44 years later, if the war ended in 604 B.C. (see note on c. 18, l. 1). The effect of the adverb is simply to dismiss for the present the reign of Alyattes, which is further dealt with in cc. 73, 74.

4. *δέυτερος.* His great-grandfather Gyges was the first of the Mermnad house to send offerings to Delphi, c. 14, l. 3.

5. *ύποκρητηρίδιον...κολλητόν* 'a stand of welded iron.' Pausanias (x. 16. 1) saw the stand at Delphi, the only offering of the Lydian kings which still survived. He describes it as follows:

'Each plate of the stand is fastened to another plate, not by bolts or nails, but simply by the welding which holds them together and acts as a ligature to the iron. The shape of the stand is like that of a tower, broader at the base and rising to a truncated top. The sides of the stand are not each in a single piece, but the iron cross bands are arranged like the rungs of a ladder; while the upright plates of iron are bent outward at the top, thus forming the rest for the bowl.' Frazer's Translation.

The stand was ornamented with animals and plants wrought in relief (Athen. p. 210 C).

6. **διὰ πάντων** 'above all,' cp. viii. 37 *διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωμάσαι μάλιστα.*

7. **Γλαύκου.** As Glaucus flourished about 690 B.C., the work must have been executed the best part of a century before it was presented to Delphi.

8. **μῶνος δῆ.** Glaucus was the sole discoverer. Stein however takes the words to mean that Glaucus' secret died with him. This is rather forced, and there is nothing to show that *κόλλησις* was a lost art in Herodotus' time.

κόλλησις 'welding,' not 'soldering.' Owing to the rapid oxidisation of iron when white-hot, welding is a sufficiently difficult process to justify considerable credit being attached to its inventor. The soldering of iron was unknown to the ancients, is said in fact to be a discovery of quite recent years (cp. Frazer's note on Paus. x. 16. 1).

CHAPTER XXVI.

5. **ἀνέθεσαν κ.τ.λ.** So Polycrates tyrant of Samos dedicated the island of Rheneia to Apollo by joining it to Delos with a chain (Thuc. III. 104). Cylon's accomplices too tied themselves to Athena's statue by a cord. When the cord broke, they were seized on the ground that the goddess had withdrawn her protection (Plut. *Solon*, c. 12).

6. **ἔστι.** For the singular verb followed by the plural subject cp. vii. 34 *ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον.* The simple idea of distance is uppermost in the writer's mind. The construction is known as the *schema Pindaricum*, though there are very few examples in Pindar.

7. **τῆς παλαιῆς πόλιος.** See H. G. Ind. *art.* Ἐφεσος.

9. **ἐπεχείρησε.** He did not press home the siege, but *πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ συνθήκας ἐποιήσατο.* Aelian *V. H.* III. 26.

11. τῶν μὲν 'in whose case,' loosely dependent on αἰτίας to be supplied with μέζοντας. A dative would have been expected, cp. iii. 31. παρευρίσκειν suggests misrepresentation, cp. παρακοῦειν, παραγιγνώσκειν and the late Greek παρεύρεσις.

12. ἐπαιτιώμενος, sc. τούτους.

CHAPTER XXVII.

2. κατεστράφατο. Cp. note on c. 2, l. 12. For the phrase 16 cp. c. 6, l. 7.

6. Πιπτακόν. Pittacus was dead by 569 B.C., so that the story should properly be told of Bias.

7. εἴ τι νεώτερον κ.τ.λ. 'whether anything fresh was stirring in Greece.' Cp. the Thucydidean νεωτερίζω. περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, cp. c. 24, l. 33. For the meaning of Hellas see H. G. Ind.

9. ἵππον collective, c. 80, l. 15.

11. ἐλπίσαντα 'supposing,' c. 30, l. 15; c. 75, l. 6. αἰ epic for εἰ, only used by Herodotus here and in an oracle quoted in iv. 157. For the form of wish cp. our English idiom 'If only so and so were to happen!', the apodosis being suppressed.

13. Λυδῶν παῖδας, cp. c. 86, l. 8, iii. 21. In spite of its oriental ring the expression is good Greek, occurring in an inscription on the acropolis of Athens, παῖδες Ἀθηναίων, v. 77. σὺν ἵπποισι. In Homeric times the Maeonians (note on c. 7, l. 10) were famous horsemen, ἱπποκορυσταί (Il. x. 431).

14. εὔξασθαι. Had the speaker directly quoted Croesus' wish, he would have said ἠὔξω 'you wished' where we should say 'you wish' (cp. Aristoph. Knights 696 ἦσθην ἀπειλαῖς 'I am amused at your threats,' Goodwin *M. T.* § 60). The aorist is kept in the dependent infinitive. Cp. Stein's note.

15. οἰκότα ἐλπίζων 'and your hopes are reasonable.'

18. λαβεῖν ἀράσθαι. The simple λαβεῖν would naturally follow τί δοκέεις εὔχεσθαι ἄλλο ἢ, but a new infinitive ἀράσθαι is added repeating εὔχεσθαι, because of the interruption occasioned by the temporal clause. Most editors following the best MSS. read ἀρώμενοι, a very awkward resumption of εὔχεσθαι in an impossible case. Toup ingeniously suggests αἰωρομένους 'tossed about,' αἰωρομένους ἐν θαλάσῃ being contrasted with ἱππευομένους ἐν ἠπείρῳ, but there is no evidence that the phrase is Greek (cp. vii. 92, viii. 100 for Herodotus' use of αἰωρόμαι).

H. Richards (*Class. Rev.* XIX. 290) proposes to omit εἴθεσθαι (l. 16) "which may have been put in to fill up the ellipse of τί δοκέεις ἄλλο ἢ ἀρᾶσθαι;" One advantage of this is that it removes the temporal clause from the subject matter of the wish, to which with the traditional reading it grammatically belongs, though in sense giving the occasion of the wish.

20. δουλώσας ἔχεις 'you hold enslaved.' Such collocations in Herodotus and tragedy can generally be translated as mere periphrastic perfects, c. 28, l. 4; c. 37, l. 8; c. 41, l. 4. Cp. note on c. 69, l. 15.

21. τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ, the sage's 'conclusion.' In Aristotle ἐπίλογος means 'peroration.'

23. οἰκημένοισι 'who were settled in,' used transitively, cp. c. 142, l. 18, and contrast l. 19 above.

24. ξεινίην συνεθήκατο 'concluded friendly relations with,' c. 22, l. 14; c. 69, l. 14.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

17 3. Κιλικῶν. The Cilicians cannot properly be described as dwelling westward (ἐντός, cp. note on c. 6, l. 2) of the Halys. Their territory stretched from north of the Halys (c. 72, l. 6) to the Mediterranean, the major part lying to the south of the river.

5. Λυδοί. The Lydians are somewhat loosely put on a level with the conquered nations.

Stein brackets the whole passage εἰσὶ δὲ...Πάμφυλοι (1) because several nations dwelling west of the Halys are omitted from the list, viz. Καύνιοι c. 172, Μιλύαι c. 173, Λασόνιοι iii. 90, Ὑπεννέες vii. 77, (2) because in vii. 75, when speaking of the Thracians who crossed into Asia, Herod. mentions only Βιθυνοί, (3) because the Χάλυβες 'according to the unanimous tradition of the ancients' lived on the far side of the Halys. But (1) no really important name is omitted; the Caunians and Milyans may, topographically at least, be classed under Carians and Lycians; (2) it would be equally fair to use the present passage as an argument against the soundness of vii. 75; and (3) the tradition of the ancients concerning the Chalybes is, as Stein himself goes on to admit, not quite unanimous. See H. G. Ind. *art.* Χάλυβες. There is therefore no good reason for rejecting the passage.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. δὲ resumes after the parenthesis *πλὴν γὰρ... Πάμφυλοι*.
 2. *προσεπικτωμένου... Λυδοῖσι* 'while he was still adding to the Lydian empire.'

3. *ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ*, not that the wealth attracted the sages, as Stein unkindly suggests. The words prepare the way for the story of Croesus' wealth. *οἱ πάντες... σοφισταί* in apposition with *ἄλλοι* 'others, namely all the wise men,' not quite the same as *οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες*, which would have definitely included Solon in their number.

4. *σοφισταί*. In Herod. the word has no invidious associations. In ii. 49 it is applied to the promoters of Dionysus worship in Greece and in iv. 95 to Pythagoras.

5. *ὡς... ἀπικνέοιτο* 'on their several errands,' opt. of indefinite frequency.

6. *Σόλων*. Solon legislated in 594 B.C. and consequently travelled 593—583 B.C. But as Amasis (c. 30, l. 3) ascended the throne in 569 and Croesus in 560, Solon could not have interviewed them at the time named by Herod. Other authorities state that Solon undertook a foreign tour in 559, after Peisistratus had made himself tyrant. It may be doubted whether Solon discoursed with Croesus at any time.

8. *κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν* 'saying that he wanted to see the world.' Cp. *τῆς θεωρίας εἵνεκεν*, c. 30, l. 1.

9. *ἔθετο*. The active is generally used of an individual, the middle of a state legislating. Solon was acting as the people's representative. Cp. l. 12.

11. *δέκα*. Solon ratified the laws for 100 years, says Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 7.

CHAPTER XXX.

3. *καὶ ἐς Σάρδεις*. On his way from Egypt to Lydia he visited Philocyprus, the enlightened despot of Soli in Cyprus (v. 113, Diog. L. I. 49).

5. *ἡμέρη τρίτη ἢ τετάρτη* 'two or three days afterwards,' cp. note 18 on c. 13, l. 11.

7. *κατὰ*. For this local sense cp. c. 77, l. 17; c. 84, l. 15.

8. *θεησάμενον κ.τ.λ.* 'when he had viewed and inspected them all, as was convenient to him.'

11. [εἴνεκεν]. Stein rightly brackets the word, which has come in from l. 13. The genitives are directly dependent on λόγος, cp. vi. 86 a.

14. εἴ τινα κ.τ.λ. 'if thou didst ever see one that was happiest of all men.'

16. τῷ ἔόντι 'the truth,' c. 97, l. 3.

19. κoίῃ for κῆ 'in what way.' κοῖος generally sounds a note of indignation or contempt. Cp. c. 39, l. 6.

20. τοῦτο μὲν 'in the first place,' answered by τοῦτο δὲ l. 22. εὖ ἠκούσης, equivalent in meaning to εὖ ἐχούσης, often with a genitive 'to be well off in respect of,' as in l. 23, c. 149, l. 8.

23. τοῦ βίου 'his livelihood,' 'means.' ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν 'as things go with us,' in Greece as opposed to Lydia. So Demaratus says to Xerxes τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη αἰεὶ κοτε σύντροφος ἐστί, vii. 102 (Stein).

25. τοὺς ἀστυγέτονας, the Megarians, for Tellus being a contemporary of Solon (εἶδες l. 14) must have flourished about B.C. 600, and at that time the Athenians were at war with the Megarians for the possession of Salamis.

27. δημοσίῃ ἔθαψαν. Those who had fallen in war were by ancient Athenian custom accorded a public funeral in the cemetery of the Ceramicus. Burial on the spot was a special mark of honour granted only to such heroes as those who died at Marathon (Thuc. II. 34).

28. ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, hardly, as Stein suggests, by building a hero-chapel over his grave and thus making him into a local deity. Tellus was not a Brasidas (cp. Thuc. v. 11).

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον, to be taken with εἶπας πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια. Stein compares the common formula εἰπέιν τινά τι 'to say something of someone,' the person being here replaced by the neuter object τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τ. προετρέψατο 'had led Croesus on' to ask more. The passage therefore means, 'Now when Solon had roused Croesus' curiosity by describing the many points of happiness in Tellus' case, Croesus (note the change of subject) asked him which of the persons he had seen came next after Tellus, thinking he could not help getting at least second place.'

19 6. ῥώμη σώματος. For instance, in the sanctuary of Apollo Lycius at Argos there was a statue of Bito carrying a bull on his shoulders (Paus. II. 19. 5).

9. τὴν μητέρα. Cydippe by name. She was priestess of Hera, hence her obligation to be present at the festival. It was the correct thing for women in Greece to drive to religious ceremonies. Thus the Athenian ladies went in their carriages to the Great Eleusinia (Schol. ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 1014).

10. τὸ ἱρόν, the great Argive Heraeum, cp. H. G. Ind. *art.* 'Ἡραῖον. For the festival see under "Ἡρη. σφι. For the position of σφι cp. c. 1, l. 20.

11. ἐκκλητόμενοι τῇ ὥρῃ 'debarred by the time' from any other method. Cp. Caesar, *B.G.* VII. 11. 5 *diei tempore exclusus* in posterum oppugnationem differt.

13. σφι 'by them,' cp. c. 1, l. 4.

17. ὁ θεός 'God,' the divine power in general, not the particular deity in whose honour the festival was held. *θεός* is similarly used in Homer. Cp. c. 105, l. 15 note.

18. ἄμεινον...μᾶλλον. Note the double comparative and cp. c. 32, l. 27.

The difference in tense between *τεθνάναι* and *ζῶειν* is to be emphasised. 'It is better to be dead than to go on living,' better because death closes the sorrows of this earthly life, not because it is the gateway to a happier one. Ideas of future bliss or woe were foreign to the Greek of Solon's day. This pessimistic view of life is echoed by the gloomy doctrine of *φθονερὸν τὸ θεῖον*, c. 33, l. 6.

20. ὄων, equivalent to *ὅτι τοιούτων*. Cp. Homer *Od.* IV. 611 *αἵματος εἰς ἀγαθοῖο, φίλον τέκος, ὄ' ἀγορεύεις*. Cp. Woods' note.

24. μιν, i.e. their mother.

26. ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ, not in the *ναός* or temple proper where the statue of the goddess stood, but in a building within the temple precincts.

28. ἔσχοντο 'were held,' passive in sense. Cp. Homer *Od.* IV. 705 *θαλερῇ δέ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή* 'her full voice was checked.' *ποιησάμενοι* 'having had made.' Statues of the brothers were not uncommon in Greece. Cp. note on l. 6. The same sanctuary contained a stone relief representing them in the act of drawing the wagon with their mother upon it.

CHAPTER XXXII.

3. ἡ δ' ἡμετέρη. *δὲ* sharply contrasts *ἡ ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη* with 20 the above cited instances.

4. **ιδιωτέων** 'men of private station.' In vii. 3 the word is applied to Darius before he became king.

5. **ἡμέας**. Note the royal 'us' and 'our.' Cp. c. 35, l. 19.

6. **τὸ θεῖον...φθονερόν**. Herod. is constantly dwelling on heaven's jealousy of human happiness. His gods, like true Greeks (cp. vii. 236), hated excess of any kind, but particularly excess of prosperity. Artabanus is made to say to Xerxes (vii. 10) 'Thou seest how God blasts with lightning creatures which stand out above their fellows and suffereth them not to make a show, but the small in no wise provoke him. Thou seest how he ever hurleth his bolts upon the tallest houses and the highest trees. For God loveth to cut off whatever stands out from the rest.' The merits or demerits of the victim make no difference, οὐ γὰρ ἐὰ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν. Again in vii. 46 the same counsellor remarks to the tearful king 'God after giving man a taste of life's sweetness, is found to be jealous herein.' Cp. also iii. 40. Observe that the doctrine is frequently not moralised at all. God does not bring the prosperous man to ruin because of the impiety and irreligion which prosperity is apt to beget. He does not consider the moral aspect of the case. His one desire is to secure for himself a monopoly of happiness and self-satisfaction. The doctrine met with a vigorous protest from Plato, ὁ φθόνος ἕξω τοῦ θείου χοροῦ ἴσταται (*Phaedr.* 247 A).

7. **παραχῶδες** active 'apt to cause confusion' in our affairs. Stein aptly quotes Pindar *Isthm.* vi. 39 ὁ δ' ἀθανάτων μὴ θρασσέτω φθόνος.

8. **τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ**, in the length of a man's life, hence the article. Cp. v. 9 γένοιτο δ' ἂν πᾶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ 'in the long lapse of ages.'

9. **τὰ μὴ τις**. μὴ because the statement is general. Cp. Soph. *Philoct.* 583 λέγονθ' ἄ μὴ δεῖ.

10. **οὔρον** predicate, hence the absence of the article, lit. 'I declare up to 70 years as the limit.'

11. **οὔτοι**, referring to ἔτια but attracted into the gender of ἐνιαυτοί. ἔτος is simply a year, ἐνιαυτός is the year regarded as a succession of seasons, cp. Homer *Od.* i. 16 ἔτος ἦλθε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν. So here the word calls attention to the duration and succession of ἔτη as a preliminary to their translation into days.

12. **ἐμβολίμου...μὴ γινομένου** 'without reckoning any intercalary month.' Herodotus is here counting only 360 days to each year. **ἔθελήσει**, often used with impersonal subjects as a simple future, c. 109, l. 12. 'If every other year be made longer by a month in

order that the seasons may come round at the right time and agree,' i.e. with the real time of the year.

16. *παρὰ* 'during,' cp. *παρὰ τὴν πόσιν*, ii. 121 d. *γίνονται* 'amount to.'

21. *αὐτέων* is pleonastic after *τούτων κ.τ.λ.* l. 18.

The number of days in a life of 70 years is according to Solon's present computation $360 \times 70 + 1050 = 26250$, which means that there are 375 days in the year. Herodotus however knew perfectly well that the true number is approximately 365 (ii. 4), and Solon himself adopted an elaborate chronological system to secure that the civil year should contain this number. He reckoned the months alternately at 29 and 30 days and the years at 12 and 13 months (cp. l. 14), omitting however the extra month every eighth year. 8 years thus contained $354 \times 5 + 384 \times 3 = 2922$ days, an average of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days to a year, which is right within 10 minutes. In spite of this Herod. represents Solon as starting with a year of 360 days, which even if employed in the East (iii. 90) was certainly never Greek, and as neglecting the periodical omission of the intercalary month. He probably used round numbers for ease of calculation.

22. *πάν...συμφορή* 'man is all accident.' Cp. vii. 49 *αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων*. *πάν* is adverbial. Contrast its adjectival use in l. 6.

25. *ἐκεῖνο κ.τ.λ.* 'not yet do I call thee that whereof thou askedst me,' i.e. *ὄλβιον*, cp. l. 40. *πρὶν*. Cp. note on c. 19, l. 12.

26. *οὐ...τι...μᾶλλον* 'not any more.' For the double comparative cp. c. 31, l. 18.

27. *τοῦ...ἔχοντος* 'he who has but enough for a day,' one who lives from hand to mouth.

29. *ἔχοντα...τελευτήσαι*, accus. and infin. explanatory of *τύχη* 21 *ἐπίσποιτο*.

30. *ζάπλουτοι* 'very wealthy,' the only case of the intensive *ζα-* in Herod. It is common in Homer and tragedy, *ζάθεος*, *ζαμένης*, *ζάχρυσος* etc. *ζα-* is Aeolic for *δια-*.

The Greek love for rhetorical contrast here (ll. 29—41) betrays Herodotus into a formal antithesis marked by some confusion of thought. The rich man who is unhappy is described as better off than the fortunate in just two respects,—he can more easily satisfy his desires and meet a great calamity. But in point of fact, as Herodotus goes on to admit, the fortunate man will want to do neither. *Ex hypothesi* he will have no inordinate desires to satisfy and no calamities to endure.

Herodotus' real point is that the man who possesses all the advantages comprehended under the term *εὐτυχία*, health, beauty, fine children etc., is better off than one possessed of wealth alone, and more likely in the end to deserve the epithet of happy.

32. *δυοῖσι*, an Ionic form occurring also in vii. 104, cp. *δυῶν* vi. 57. Herod. frequently uses *δύο* indeclinable, never *δυοῖν*.

37. *ἐνεῖκαι*, by a curious zeugma made to govern *ἐπιθυμίην* with which sense demands *ἐκτελέσαι*.

39. *εὐειδής*. *οὐ πάνν εὐδαιμονικὸς ὁ τὴν ιδέαν παναίσχης* Aristotle, *Eth. N.* I. 1099 b 3. (Woods.)

40. *ἐκεῖνος... ὄλβιος* 'that one whom thou seekest, namely a happy man.'

42. *ἐπισχεῖν*, infinitive for imperative, cp. c. 55, l. 8; c. 89, l. 9. Goodwin *M. T.* § 784.

The first formal expression of the sentiment in Greek literature is in Aeschylus, *Agam.* 928,

*ὄλβισαι δὲ χρῆ
βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίλῃ.*

It became one of the set maxims of tragedy. Cp. Soph. *Oed. T.* 1528, with Jebb's note. Aristotle criticises the dictum in the light of his own doctrine of happiness (*Eth. N.* I. 1100 a 11).

43. *συλλαβεῖν*, understand *τινά* as subject.

47. *ὤς* = *οὔτω*, frequent in Herod., but in Attic only in the stock phrases *καὶ ὤς, οὐδ' ὤς, μήδ' ὤς. ἀνθρώπου... οὐδὲν* 'not one single person.' Note the duplication of *ἐν*, and for the periphrasis cp. Eurip. *Troad.* 201 *τεκέων σώματα*.

50. *παρ' ἐμοί* 'in my judgment,' c. 86, l. 32.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

2. *οὐ κως οὔτε... ἀποπέμπεται*. The subject is changed, cp. c. 31, l. 3. 'Solon would in no wise humour Croesus, and Croesus sends him away (*ἀποπέμπεται* middle). The negative in the second *οὔτε* goes only with the participle *ποιησάμενος* 'holding him of no account.' The editors compare viii. 94 *κέλητα τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι* 'a pinnacle which no one was found to have sent and which bore down on them when they knew nothing of what was going on in the fleet.'

3. *κάρτα... ὄς* 'thinking him very stupid in that.' *ἀμαθής*, an inferior ms. reading, is an early emendation intended to make Solon the subject of the whole passage.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. **μετά δὲ Σ. οἰχόμενον**, cp. c. 9, l. 9. 22
2. **νέμεσις**. Cp. note on c. 32, l. 6.
3. **αὐτίκα**. Retribution follows 'immediately' on Croesus' proud thoughts.
4. **ἐπέστη ὄνειρος**. The personification is Homeric. Cp. *Il.* II. 20 *στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς (ὄνειρος)*.
7. **διέφθαρτο** 'had a natural defect.' He was *διεφθαρμένος τὴν ἀκοήν*, c. 38, l. 10 and also *ἄφωνος*, c. 85, l. 3, so that here *κωφός* probably means 'deaf and dumb' (*κωφός=οὔτε λαλῶν οὔτε ἀκούων* Hesychius). Cp. note on c. 38, l. 10.
12. **ἄγεται** 'marries.' Like our own word, *ἄγομαι* can be used either of the bridegroom, c. 59, l. 11, or of the father. For the latter cp. *Hom. Od.* IV. 10 *νιέι δὲ Σπάρτηθεν Ἀλέκτορος ἤγετο κούρην*.
17. **θαλάμους** 'store-chambers' here, frequently 'bed-chambers,' c. 12, l. 4. For their position cp. iii. 78 *ἦν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα*.
- οἱ**, i.e. Croesus, ethic dat. 'lest he should have one falling on his son from where it hung,' or perhaps a mere dat. of possession.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. **ἔχοντος...γάμον** 'while his son had his marriage on his hands.' **οἱ**, Croesus, cp. c. 34, l. 17.
2. **συμφορῆ**, of an act of involuntary homicide also in vii. 190 *ἄχαρις συμφορῆ παιδοφόνος*.
5. **καθαροῦ**, sc. *ἱεροῦ* 'a purifying rite' for the ordinary *κάθαρσις*. 23
7. **παραπλησίη κ.τ.λ.** Purification for murder was effected in Greece by lustration with the blood of a sucking pig. The murderer sat in silence at the hearth while his hands were washed in the blood amid invocations to Zeus the Purifier. The offscourings (*λύματα*)—to which the contagion was supposed to have been transferred—were then cast away and cakes burnt to propitiate the Furies and the soul of the victim (cp. *Apoll. Rhod.* IV. 691—715). A laurel branch generally figured in the ceremony. This cathartic ritual is not known in Greece till the 8th century B.C. and may have been introduced from Asia Minor where the swine, at least west of the Halys beyond the range of Semitic influence, appears to have been a sacred animal (cp. W. M. Ramsay in *Hastings' Dict. of Bible*, extra vol. p. 115 f.).

9. **ὀκόθεν τε καὶ τίς.** In such combinations the direct generally precedes the indirect interrogative, iv. 145 *πενθόμενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὀκόθεν εἰσι*. It was customary for the purifier to ask no questions of his suppliant till the ceremony was complete. Cp. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 696f.

13. **Ἄδρηστος.** The name is significant, 'doomed,' from a-privative and the root of *διδράσκω* 'run away.'

16. **ἀνδρῶν φίλων,** the kings of Phrygia, cp. l. 4. Although nominally subjects of Croesus (c. 28, l. 5) they probably preserved a good deal of independence.

19. **ἐν ἡμετέρου** 'in my house,' cp. vii. 8 d. *ἐς ἡμετέρου* occurs in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes 370 (cp. Sikes and Allen *ad loc.*) and has MS. support in several passages of the *Odyssey*, e.g. II. 55, VII. 301. It is due to the false analogy of such expressions as *ἐν Κροίσου* (c. 36, l. 1), short for *ἐν Κροίσου οἴκῳ*, just as we say 'at Robinson's.' **συμφορῆν κ.τ.λ.** 'you will do best to take this misfortune as lightly as may be.'

CHAPTER XXXVI.

3. **ὑὸς μέγα χρῆμα** 'a great monster of a boar,' a frequent colloquialism precisely parallel to our English slang 'a great thing of.' Cp. vi. 43 *χρῆμα πολλὸν νεῶν*. Aristoph. *Clouds* I ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ χρῆμα τῶν νυκτῶν ὅσον.

4. **ἔργα** 'cultivated lands,' 'farms,' II. XII. 283 *ἀνδρῶν πίονα ἔργα*. Cp. c. 17, l. 15 *ἐργάζεσθαι* 'till the ground.' **διαφθείρεσκε,** Herod. always omits the augment with iteratives in -σκον.

24 17. **ταῦτα,** i.e. τὰ περὶ τὸν γάμον contained in *νέογαμος*. Cp. vi. 105 *ἡμεροδρόμον καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα*.

18. **διακελεύσομαι** 'I will give strict orders,' c. 42, l. 8. Contrast the meaning of the word in c. 1, l. 24.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. **ἀποχρεωμένων** 'being content with,' c. 102, l. 4. The active formula is *ταῦτα ἀποχρᾶ μοι*, with which cp. c. 66, l. 5 where *ἡσυχίην ἄγειν* takes the place of *ταῦτα*.

4. **τόν γε παῖδα.** *γε* implies that whomever else he may send, he will not send his son.

6. **ἔς τε πολέμους κ.τ.λ.,** expegetical of *τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ γενναϊότατα* 'the fairest and noblest part was ours, namely to go to wars and hunts and so have glory.'

9. **παριδών** 'having noticed,' c. 38, l. 2; c. 108, l. 20. In Attic *παροράω* also means 'overlook.' **τέοισι... ὄμμασι** 'with what face,' a favourite phrase of tragedy, Soph. *Oed. T.* 1371 *ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὄμμασιν ποίοις βλέπων | πατέρα ποτ' ἂν προσεῖδον.*

10. **ἐς ἀγορὴν**. So we say 'to go to town' with a similar omission of the article.

14. **λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον**. The love of rational persuasion is a peculiarly Hellenic trait, by no means appropriate to the 'barbarian' Aty. Unquestioning obedience to despotic authority was hateful to the Greeks. Thus Plato in the *Laws* 723 B suggests that each statute should have a preamble explaining the reasons on which it is based.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. **ἀμείβεται**. Note the oft-recurring asyndeton, cc. 37, 39, 40, 42.

4. **ἐπιστάσα**, cp. c. 34, l. 4.

5. **πρὸς... ταύτην** 'in consideration of this vision.' Cp. c. 165, l. 5 *πρὸς ταῦτα*.

7. **τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα** 'the enterprise.' **εἴ κως** κ.τ.λ. 'if by any 25 means I might steal thee (from fate) for my own lifetime.'

10. **τὴν ἀκοήν**. Larcher, Krüger and others, believing that *κωφός* in c. 34, l. 7 means 'dumb,' bracket these words as the insertion of a copyist who took it to mean 'deaf.' But the words are sound enough, cp. note on c. 34, l. 7.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

3. **τὸ**, to be taken first as direct object of *μανθάνεις* and then as accus. of reference with *λέληθε* 'the point which thou dost not understand and wherein the (meaning of the) dream hath escaped thee.'

6. **κοῖαι**. Cp. note on c. 30, l. 19.

9. **χρῆν** 'it would have been right.' *ἂν* is idiomatically omitted with *χρῆν*, *εἶδει*, *δικαίος ἦν* and similar expressions in the apodosis to an unreal protasis 'if the dream had said I should die—which it did not say—it would etc.' Goodwin *M. T.* § 415.

νῦν δὲ 'but as it is, it said "by a spear-point."'

CHAPTER XL.

2. **ἔστι τῆ** 'somehow.' Herod. perhaps wishes to imply that some mysterious power compels Croesus to assent, even though only half convinced.

CHAPTER XLI.

3. **ἀχάρῃ**. Forms from the longer stem *ἀχαριτ-* are more usual, c. 207, l. 7.

9. **ἐπὶ δηλήσι** 'to your harm.' Stein observes that *ἐπὶ* here and in c. 68, l. 21, *ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου*, expresses consequence rather than end (cp. c. 60, l. 11). The two notions easily run into one another.

26 10. **τοὶ** emphasises *σέ*. Cp. Soph. *Ajax* 1228 *σέ τοι, τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωτίδος λέγω*. Here its force is 'thou, if anyone, oughtest to go....' **ἀπολαμπρυνέαι**, future.

11. **πατρώιον** sc. *ἔργοισι ἀπολαμπρύνεσθαι*.

CHAPTER XLII.

3. **κεκρημένον** with the dative is hardly distinguishable in meaning from *χρώμενον*. With the genitive it means 'in want of,' or, absolutely, 'needy.'

5. **πέρα** = *πάρεστι*. Cp. *μέτα*, c. 88, l. 15. **πολλαχῆ τε κ.τ.λ.** 'and for many reasons I should have been holding myself back.'

9. **τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἴνεκεν** 'so far as lies in his protector's power.'

CHAPTER XLIII.

6. **οὗτος δὴ...φόνον** 'even he who had been cleansed of the murder.' For the explanatory *δὴ* cp. c. 45, l. 16. *καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον* implies an active construction with two accusatives, cp. *Il.* XVI. 667 *αἶμα κάθηρον...Σαρπηδόνα*. **καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος**. Herodotus is showing how Adrastus' unhappy lot justified his name 'The Doomed' (note on c. 35, l. 13). The name is also appropriate to him as the instrument of Atys' fate (cp. l. 9), for *Ἄδρηστος* may equally well mean 'The Unescapable.' In this sense the epithets *Ἄδραστος*, *Ἀδράσθεια* were applied to a deity of the Asiatic coast comparable to the Greek *Νέμεσις* (there were two Nemeses worshipped at Smyrna, Paus. VII. 5. 3), and perhaps only an aspect of the Great Mother.

There may be some mythological connexion between Herodotus' Atys and the Phrygian hero Attis or Atys who according to one story (Paus. VII. 17. 9) celebrated the orgies of Cybele in Lydia and became such a favourite with the goddess that Zeus in anger sent a boar to slay him.

CHAPTER XLIV.

2. **μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέετο** 'complained all the more bitterly.' Herod. is fond of the expression *μᾶλλον τι*, c. 50, l. 6; c. 74, l. 15, etc. *οὐ τι μᾶλλον*, c. 32, 26.

6. **τὸν αὐτὸν...θεόν** 'still naming this same god,' i.e. Zeus. 27 Croesus had purified, sheltered and befriended Adrastus. Hence he invokes Zeus as purifier (*καθάρσιον*—an official title of Zeus at Athens and Olympia), as patron of hospitality (*ἐφέστιον*) and as guardian of fellowship (*ἐταιρεῖον*), partly to reproach the god for allowing these sacred ties to be violated and partly to call down divine vengeance upon their violator.

10. **εὐρήκοι**. When the narrator is quoting a cause assigned by another person, on the ordinary principle of *oratio obliqua* after past tenses the verb of the causal sentence *may* stand in the optative. Croesus said *ἐλάνθανον* and *εὐρηκα*. In *ἐλάνθανε* the original mood is kept. Goodwin *M. T.* § 714.

CHAPTER XLV.

4. **προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας**, in token of complete surrender.

5. **μιν** 'him,' i.e. Adrastus, indirect reflexive, cp. c. 11, l. 16. **τῷ νεκρῷ**, gov. by *ἐπι-κατασφάζαι*.

7. **ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη** 'he was the undoing of,' cp. *ἀπώλεσας*, c. 214, l. 20. **οὐδέ**. When the preceding clause does not contain a negative, the general rule is to write *καὶ οὐ*. But exceptions are numerous in Herod., c. 85, l. 14. So *μηδέ*, c. 82, l. 15.

8. **τούτων ἀκούσας**. Herod. uses indifferently the accus. or the genit. of the thing heard.

12. **οὐ σύ μοι κ.τ.λ.** A reminiscence of *Il.* III. 164 *οὐ τί μοι αἰτήη ἐσσί· θεοὶ νύ μοι αἴτιοι εἰσίν*. **εἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ.** 'except in so far as thou wast the unwilling instrument therein.'

15. **ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν** 'as was fitting,' i.e. under a great barrow or *τύμβος*. Cp. c. 93 (Stein).

17. **φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος**. Adrastus is called the 'murderer of the man who purified him' by a dramatic hyperbole of a sort common in Greek tragedy. Thus Hecuba calls her son's slayer the slayer of herself, *σὺν ταῖσδε τὸν ἐμὸν φονέα τιμωρήσομαι*, Eurip. *Hec.* 882, and Oedipus says to Creon *ἔκου φονεὺς ὧν τοῦδε τάνδρος*, i.e. of myself, Soph. *O. T.* 534. Cp. c. 124, l. 7.

18. ἡσυχίη τῶν ἀνθρώπων, lit. 'quiet from men,' objective genit. Cp. ἡσυχίη τῆς πολιορκίης 'rest from the siege,' vi. 135.

19. συγγινωσκόμενος 'conscious that,' the common meaning in Herod. both of active and middle. Contrast συγγνώμη = pardon, c. 39, l. 2, in which sense the verb only occurs in vii. 12.

Note the extraordinary dignity and impressiveness of the passage (ll. 15—20), a striking instance of the effects producible by Herodotus' simple and direct narrative style.

CHAPTER XLVI.

28 3. καταϊρεθείσα. The destruction of the Median empire by Cyrus is described in cc. 123—130.

5. πρήγματα. Cp. vii. 50 μεγάλα πρήγματα μέγαλοισι κινδύνοισι ἐθέλει καταϊρεῖσθαι 'great power is usually won by great risks.'

7. καταλαβεῖν κ.τ.λ. 'to surprise their power in its growth,' i.e. to stop their power from further increase.

14. τῆς Μιλησῆς 'in the Milesian territory,' genit. dependent on Βραγχίδας. Cp. Διβύης, l. 15. For accounts of these oracles consult H. G. Ind.

17. ὅ τι φρονέοιεν 'to see what wisdom they had.'

19. ἐπιέρηται, more vivid than the optative and comparable to an historic present.

CHAPTER XLVII.

3. ἀπ' ἧς, attraction for ἀπὸ ταύτης ἧ, resumed by ἀπὸ ταύτης in l. 4. Lines 3—8 explain ἐντειλάμενος τάδε 'with the following instructions, namely that.'

8. συγγραψαμένους 'having had written down.' A functionary called the προφήτης took down the Pythia's response and remodelled it into hexameter or occasionally into iambic (c. 174) verse, finally handing it in its metrical form to the questioner.

29 11. τὸ μέγαρον, the inmost shrine, Latin *cella*, between the πρόναος or fore-temple and the ὀπισθόδομος or back-chamber.

13. ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει. This is perhaps not to be taken literally. The προφήτης may have been responsible for the versification. Cp. c. 55, l. 5.

14. οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ. Oracles generally begin with a particle like δέ, c. 174, l. 24, or ἀλλά, c. 55, l. 6 ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος κ.τ.λ., with which

compare Aristophanes' mock oracles, *Birds* 967 ἄλλ' ὅταν, *Knights* 197, *Lysistr.* 770 ἄλλ' ὀπόταν.

15. κωφοῦ 'dumb,' later ἐνεός.

16. μ' ἐς φρένας, an instance of the so-called accusatives of whole and part. φρένας *limits* με, 'came upon me, viz. upon my soul.' Cp. *Il.* VII. 215 Τρῶας δὲ τρόμος αἰνὸς ὑπήλυθε γυῖα ἕκαστον, Aesch. *Pers.* 161 καὶ με καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντίς. κραταιρίνιοι 'hard-shelled,' λιθόρρινος as Empedocles calls the tortoise.

18. ἐπίσταται, perf. middle of ἐπιέννυμι, 'and it (sc. ἡ χελώνη) hath a covering of bronze upon it.' Cp. Pind. *Nem.* XI. 16 γὰν ἐπιεσσόμενος 'about to have a covering of earth,' i.e. about to be buried. Note the common transition from relative to independent construction.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

6. οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν 'not one pleased him.' For προσίεσθαι 'to draw to oneself, attract,' cp. Aristoph. *Knights* 359 ἐν δ' οὐ προσίεται με. A different use in c. 75, l. 25; cp. vi. 10 οὐ προσίεντο τὴν προδοσίην 'they would not consent to the treason.'

7. αὐτίκα κ.τ.λ. 'straightway offered worship and accepted it as true.' Croesus now 'believed.' The imperfect expresses continued, the aorist momentary action. With προσεδέξατο, cp. c. 63, l. 2 δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθέν.

8. μόνον εἶναι μαντήιον 'was the only real oracle.'

9. αὐτὸς emphatic 'what he himself had done,' cp. l. 13.

CHAPTER XLIX.

4. τὸ ἱρόν, the famous shrine at Oropus. Stein on c. 46, l. 13 **30** asserts that the oracle intended was at Thebes, but for the existence of such an oracle there is no evidence. Indeed the passages to which he refers (c. 52, l. 6; viii. 134) strongly militate against his assumption. In c. 52 Herod. speaks of certain offerings made by Croesus to Amphiaraus which in his day were in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, a very unlikely place for them, had Amphiaraus a shrine of his own at Thebes, but likely enough if they were moved to Thebes from Oropus. In viii. 134 Herod. says that no Theban was allowed to seek divination in Amphiaraus' temple, a strange prohibition, were the temple in Thebes itself (see Rawlinson's notes on cc. 46, 52). Amphiaraus had other sanctuaries at Argos and Sparta. τὰ νομιζόμενα, cp. H. G. Ind. *art.* Ἀμφιαρέως.

5. οὐδὲ τοῦτο, any more than the answers of the other oracles.

ἄλλο γε ἢ depends on οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν; 'but only that Croesus thought that he also (like Apollo) owned a true oracle.'

CHAPTER L.

3. πάντα τρισχίλια '3000 of every kind.' Cp. ix. 81 Πανσανίη δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη...γυναῖκες, ἵπποι, τάλαντα, 'for Pausanias ten of everything were set apart,' iv. 88 Μανδροκλέα ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα. Sacrificial animals comprised sheep, oxen, swine and goats.

8. ὡς δὲ...ἐγένετο 'when he had ended the sacrifice,' cp. c. 126, l. 14.

9. ἡμιπλίνθια 'half-ingots,' half as broad as long, ll. 10, 11. ἐξήλαυνε 'he beat out,' c. 68, l. 20.

10. ἐπὶ μὲν κ.τ.λ. 'making them of six palms on their longer sides and of three on their shorter.' 6 παλαισταί made a πῆχυς or cubit (πῆχυς μέτριος, c. 178, l. 17), containing $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The dimensions of the ingots therefore were roughly $18 \times 9 \times 3$ ins.

13. ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ 'refined gold,' lit. 'boiled down,' contrasted with the impure λευκὸς χρυσός of l. 14. τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον 'the third half-talent,' i.e. two talents and a half, cp. ll. 20, 21. Similarly in German drittehalb = $2\frac{1}{2}$. The words are a certain emendation of the manuscript reading τρία ἡμιτάλαντα = $1\frac{1}{2}$ talents, for Herod. must have known that pure gold is heavier than gold alloy. Even with this correction his statement as to the weight of the ingots, supposing that they were solid, is largely under the mark. $2\frac{1}{2}$ talents are only 143 lbs., whereas a moderately pure gold ingot of the size named weighs considerably over 300 lbs. Stein thinks that they were hollow on the under and invisible side, but if so Herod. himself seems to have been unaware of it.

14. λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, gold alloyed with silver, hence the light colour. It was also known as ἤλεκτρον, Soph. *Ant.* 1037 τὰπὸ Σαρδέων ἤλεκτρον, perhaps from its resemblance to amber. If the ingots of alloy were four-fifths the weight of the ingots of pure gold, the silver in them must have amounted to about 45% of their volume and 30% of their weight. As a matter of fact Lydian electrum is known from analysis to contain about 27% of silver. Pliny says, *H.N.* xxxiii. 80, ubicunque quinta argenti portio est electrum vocatur.

15. ἐποιέετο middle, 'he had made.'

17. **κατεκαίετο.** It was accidentally burnt down in B.C. 548. Cp. ii. 180.

18. **ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι.** The 117 ingots were probably arranged in a pyramid of four tiers as follows:

The lowest tier contained	9 × 7 = 63		
„ 2nd „ „	7 × 5 = 35		
„ 3rd „ „	5 × 3 = 15		
„ 4th „ „	2 × 2 = 4		
	Total 117		

The four ingots of the highest tier would be the ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσαρα, each supporting one foot of the lion. Croesus' great offering must have contained over 10,000 lbs. of gold, worth nowadays between half and three quarters of a million sterling.

CHAPTER LI.

3. **ἄμα τοῖσι.** ὁ was originally a demonstrative pronoun. Cp. πρὸς τοῖσι, v. 97, and the common ὁ μὲν...ὁ δέ.

5. **ἔσιόντι,** cp. c. 14, l. 10.

6. **ὑπὸ** 'at the time of,' cp. Latin sub with accus. 'just after, upon.'

9. **μνέας.** A talent contained 60 minae, the mina weighing about 15 oz. ἐπὶ with τῆς γωνίης 'at the angle of the fore-temple' (cp. note on c. 47, l. 11), formed by the front wall of the cella and a pier projecting beyond one of its side walls.

10. **ἀμφορέας.** An ἀμφορεύς = 9 gallons.

11. **γὰρ.** Its capacity is known, for it is filled at the Theophania. The festival of 'the Manifestation' was held in the spring on a day reputed to be Apollo's birthday. It no doubt celebrated the returning energy of the sun-god after his winter's rest. Θεοφάνια in ecclesiastical Greek is the festival of the Nativity (cp. Aug. Mommsen *Delphica*, pp. 280—297).

13. **τὸ συντυχόν** 'what comes in one's way,' 'ordinary.' Eur. *Hec.* 1182 ὁ δ' αἰεὶ ξυντυχῶν ἐπίσταται.

15. **περιρραντήρια,** basins for holy water, placed at the entrance to every sanctuary that the worshipper might sprinkle himself upon entering.

17. **ἐπιγέγραπται κ.τ.λ.** 'the inscription is "from the Lacedaemonians" who say that it is their offering.' Abicht inserts σφέων after

φαμένων. The absence of a reflexive pronoun is so awkward that the passage can hardly be right as it stands.

18. λέγοντες, anacoluthic, as though ἐπιγεγράφασι φάμενοι had preceded. Cp. viii. 74 πολλά ἐλέγετο (i.e. πολλά ἔλεγον) περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ὡς κ.τ.λ.

19. τῶν τις Δελφῶν. For this common Herodotean arrangement cp. c. 71, l. 5.

21. δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς. Cp. l. 9 for the order of words. Pausanias I. 23. 7 mentions a bronze boy holding a sprinkler on the acropolis of Athens. In this case the boy is apparently represented as filling the sprinkler.

24. οὐκ ἐπίσημα 'not remarkable.' Cp. ii. 20 ἐπίσημοι σοφίην. (L. and S. 'without inscription,' wrongly. None of Croesus' offerings are recorded to have had inscriptions except the gold font, and even that was added later.)

25. χεύματα, 'castings.' II. xxiii. 561 χεῦμα φαεινοῦ κασσιτέροιο, a casting of tin laid over a bronze breastplate. Cp. καταχεάμενος, c. 50, l. 8.

27. ἀρτοκόπου. Acc. to Plutarch II. 401 E, she saved Croesus from being poisoned by his stepmother, a story with a somewhat Hellenic flavour.

28. τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρής, i.e. the necklace.

CHAPTER LII.

4. χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως 'of gold throughout alike.'

5. τὸ ξυστὸν in apposition with αἰχμήν, the whole spear, cp. c. 7, l. 15; 'the shaft equally with the points being of gold.' λόγχησι. The plural probably denotes the spear-head with its two barbs (κνώδοντες). Abicht and Woods however explain it as referring to the spear-point proper and the spike or σαυρωτήρ at the bottom end for planting the weapon in the ground. τῇ λόγχη (*Class. Journ.* xxx. 80) is palaeographically an easy emendation.

6. καὶ ἀμφοτέρα, to be taken together, c. 74, l. 15 'which were still both lying up to my time in.' καὶ Θεβέων. For this amplifying and corrective use of καί cp. c. 102, l. 10.

7. Ἴσμηνίου. The epithet is derived from the river Ismenus which ran beneath the temple. Possibly the Thebans had moved the treasures from the shrine at Oropus when that city was threatened by Athens (about 507 B.C.). Cp. Rawlinson's note.

CHAPTER LIII.

3. **στρατεύεται...προσθείτο.** Both verbs represent interrogative subjunctives in the original question as put to the oracle. Here the difference in meaning is no greater than between 'shall' and 'should' in English. It has been suggested that the opt. may indicate a *remoter contingency* dependent upon the realisation of the first, 'and if he *is* to make the expedition, whether he should...', but love of variety is probably sufficient explanation. Cp. c. 117, l. 11. Goodwin *M. T.* § 677. The latter question, Stein thinks, betrays the motive of Croesus' munificence. He wished the oracle to induce Sparta to co-operate with him.

5. **ἐς τὰ**, a compendious expression for *ἐς ἰρὰ ἐς τὰ*.

9. **ὑμῖν.** The ambassadors are conceived as addressing Apollo and Amphiaraus at once. **ἔδωκε.** Note the tense. Croesus 'gave' them before they were despatched from Lydia. Similarly we say 'So and So *sent* you this,' instead of 'sends' or 'has sent.' **ἔξευρημάτων,** as expressed in the oracle of c. 47.

14. The oracle ran **Κροῖσος** "Ἄλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει, Arist. *Rhet.* III. 5.

16. **οἱ ἐξευρόντα.** Cp. c. 3, l. 6.

CHAPTER LIV.

5. **Πυθῶ**, the Homeric name for Delphi, used only here by Herod. to distinguish the place from the people.

6. **κατ' ἄνδρα...ἕκαστον**, lit. 'each one man by man,' cp. c. 9, l. 12. **στατήρησι.** *Κροῖσειοι στατήρες* were probably the first pure gold coins minted. They were stamped with the foreparts of a lion and a bull facing one another. The stater was worth about 22 shillings.

8. **προμαντήρην**, precedence in consulting the oracle, a privilege frequently granted to benefactors of the shrine. It seems to have been perpetually enjoyed by the Delphians themselves. The turn of the ordinary inquirer was settled by lot, *ἵτων πάλῳ λαχόντες, ὡς νομίζεται*, Aesch. *Eum.* 32. **ἀτελείην** 'remission of dues.' **προεδρίην** 'the right to front seats' at the public games. **ἔξείναι**, coordinate with the preceding substantives.

CHAPTER LV.

2. **ἐπέετε** κ.τ.λ. 'for after he had once got truth from the oracle, he continued to make great use of it.' For **ἐμφορέεσθαι** lit. 'to fill oneself with,' cp. Plut. *Cic.* 19 *τῆς ἐξουσίας ἄγαν ἐμφ.* 'to make too free with his power.'

33 6. **ἀλλ'**, cp. c. 47, l. 14. For the explanation of *ἡμίονος* see c. 91, l. 25.

7. **ποδαβρέ** 'delicate-footed.' The epithet, though appropriate enough to an Asiatic monarch, does not fit with the general character of the Lydians of Croesus' day, than whom 'no nation in Asia was bolder or more valiant,' c. 79, l. 13. For the later effeminacy of the Lydians cp. c. 155.

8. **φεύγειν**, cp. note on c. 32, l. 42.

CHAPTER LVI.

2. **πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων** 'much the most of all.' With **πολλόν τι** 'to some considerable extent,' cp. *μᾶλλον τι*, c. 44, l. 2.

4. **οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ**. Croesus closely identifies his heirs with himself, hence the nominative.

5. **τοὺς ἄν...προσκήσαιο** 'inquiring as to the people whom he should win over,' a relative where we should rather have expected an interrogative form of sentence. Cp. c. 120, l. 4. The phrase does not represent original *τίνας προσκήσωμαι* which in or. obl. would become *τίνας* or *οὔστινας προσκήσαιο* without *ἄν*.

9. **ταῦτα γὰρ** κ.τ.λ. 'For these (the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians) were the pre-eminent nations, the second being anciently a Pelasgian and the first an Hellenic nation; and the one never migrated anywhere, while the other was very much given to wandering.' *ταῦτα* for *οὔτοι* is due to the attraction of *ἔθνεα*. With the above statements regarding the Athenians cp. viii. 44 'Αθηναῖοι ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, and vii. 161 'Αθηναῖοι, ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι μῦθοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων, cp. Thuc. 1. 2.

According to the manuscript reading which omits *ἔθνεα*, *ταῦτα* must refer to the Dorian and Ionian *γένη*, and this involves grave difficulties. In the first place the Ionian race (*τὸ μὲν* l. 10) cannot properly be described as 'anciently Pelasgian.' Though in certain places, as for instance in Attica, it may have contained a large Pelasgian admixture,

it belonged to a distinct stratum of population. Herod. himself clearly distinguishes the Pelasgian from the Ionian element in Athens (c. 57, l. 8, ii. 51, vi. 137). Secondly it is untrue to say of the Ionian race that 'it never migrated anywhere.' It migrated into Attica and thence to Asia Minor (vii. 94, i. 147). The insertion of *ἔθνεα* brings the passage into line with Herodotus' other statements.

13. **Φθιώτιν**, named as the first home of the Dorians, because the country of Deucalion, the traditional progenitor of the Greeks.

15. **Ἰστιαῶτιν**. It is generally admitted that the Dorians came down upon Greece from the north, so that the alleged migration from Phthiotis to Histiaeotis probably reverses the truth.

16. **Πίνδῳ**. A comparison with viii. 43, *έόντες οὔτοι... Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδόνν ἔθνος ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὀρηθέντες*, suggests to Stein that Pindus here is the town of that name in Doris, but the mention of Ossa and Olympus immediately preceding and the fact that the town Pindus is in Dryopis (l. 18) taken in its wider sense (cp. H. G. Ind.), make it difficult to believe that anything but the mountain range of Thessaly is meant. **Μακεδόνν**. Prof. Ridgeway (*art.* 'Who were the Dorians?' in *Anthropological Essays*, Oxford 1907, p. 295 ff.) seeks to prove that the Dorians were Illyrians, with whom 'the aboriginal Macedonians were closely identified in speech, dress and method of wearing their hair.'

19. **ἔλθόν**, about B.C. 1100.

CHAPTER LVII.

2. **τεκμαιρόμενον τοῖς κ.τ.λ.** 'judging by those that still remain of 34 the Pelasgians who dwelt...' **οἰκέοντων** is imperfect participle. Most of the old inhabitants had vanished.

4. **Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα**. For Creston in Thrace and the Tyrsenians or Tower-men (Greek *τύρσεις*) of the Aegean consult H. G. Ind. These eastern Tyrsenians are frequently spoken of nowadays as Tyrrheno-Pelasgians. Note however that Herod. (l. 15 compared with l. 4) regards the languages of Tyrsenians and Pelasgians as distinct. Stein wrongly supposes that the Etruscans are meant here and that Creston is Cortona. Niebuhr wished to read *Κρότωνα* for *Κρηστῶνα* (cp. Dion. Halic. i. 28, 29, who follows Hellanicus). **ἄμουροί κοτε**, when they lived in Thessaliotis and the Dorians in Histiaeotis.

7. **οἰκησάντων** ingressive. The settlement must have taken place after their expulsion from Attica (vi. 137), where 'they had become dwellers with the Athenians' (ii. 51).

9. **καὶ ὅσα...πολίσιματα** for ἄλλα πολίσιματα ὅσα κ.τ.λ., co-ordinate with *Πλακίην* and *Σκυλάκην* as objects of *οἰκησάντων*.

10. **τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε**, i.e. lost the name Pelasgian or, possibly, their Pelasgian name, so that their origin was disguised. Cp. the way in which the old Pelasgian inhabitants of Attica called *Κραναοί*, *ἐκδεξαμένου Ἐρεχθέος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν* (viii. 44).

11. **βάρβαρον γλώσσαν**, in all probability an Indo-European language, but little is known of it. The place-name *Larissa* is said to be Pelasgian for 'citadel.'

12. **τοιούτο** predicate. 'If the Pelasgian race all resembled these' in speaking a foreign tongue.

13. **μεταβολῆ**. Change of nationality meant for Herodotus the adoption of the religious rites and of the eponymous hero of another tribe (Woods *ad loc.*). Here the change must have been effected by absorption of the Pelasgians into the Hellenic stock, though in Herod. we look in vain for any clear account of the matter. In viii. 44 he contents himself with cataloguing the names borne by the Athenian population at the epochs of particular kings and eponymous heroes without ever going behind the names to the racial questions involved.

14. **καὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.** develops the statement that the Pelasgians speak a foreign tongue.

17. **σφίσι**, equivalent to *ἀλλήλοισι*.

CHAPTER LVIII.

2. **ἐπίτε...διαχράται** 'ever since its origin has always continued (δια-) to use the same language.' In this respect the Hellenic stands in strong contrast with the Attic race. *ἐπίτε ἐγένετο* refers not to the period when it became a distinct nation by parting off from the Pelasgians (Woods; cp. next note), but to the time of its first origin.

3. **ἀποσχισθὲν** 'when it parted off,' cp. iv. 56 where the word is applied to a stream branching off from the main river. It need not imply any close affinity between Hellenes and Pelasgians who indeed are directly contrasted in c. 56, l. 10, but can be referred to the close neighbourhood in which the nations once lived, c. 57, l. 5. One cannot help wishing that Herod. had expressed a little more clearly his conception of the relationships obtaining between the Pelasgians, Ionians and Dorians.

4. ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο κ.τ.λ. 'starting from small things at first it has grown to its present number of races.' Cp. Thuc. I. 3. αὔξηται perfect, without reduplication.

6. Πελασγῶν, accepted by most editors for πολλῶν of the MSS. Instances of the incorporation of Pelasgians with Hellenes are the people of Attica, the Arcadians, c. 146, l. 9, and the Ionians, vii. 94. Stein.

7. ἄλλων. To the various non-Hellenic tribes mentioned in cc. 146, 147 add the Cynurians, viii. 73. πρὸς δὴ 'Moreover indeed.' For πρὸς used absolutely cp. πρὸς δέ, c. 71, l. 13, καὶ πρὸς, v. 20, etc. πρὸς δὴ however is unique and perhaps corrupt.

8. οὐδὲ, any more than the Hellenic race before it parted off from the Pelasgians.

9. ἐὼν βάρβαρον, in its barbarous state, untouched by Hellenic influences.

CHAPTER LIX.

2. κατεχόμενόν τε κ.τ.λ. 'oppressed and distracted with faction by 35 Peisistratus.' ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου properly speaking belongs only to κατεχόμενον.

3. τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, at the time of Croesus' second embassy to Delphi (c. 53), which the Parian Chronicle dates at B.C. 555.

5. ἐόντι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι, he was present at the festival as an ordinary spectator not as a state representative or θεωρός in the Attic technical sense.

7. ἐπεστεῶτες 'standing on the hearth.'

13. ἀπείπασθαι 'to disown him.'

14. Χίλωνος may be taken either as a genit. absol. or as directly dependent on πείθεσθαι, which in Herod. is often followed by the genit. on the analogy of ἀκούειν 'to listen to,' c. 126, l. 23. Note the temporary change to orat. obl., cp. c. 86, l. 14.

15. γενέσθαι, for the asyndeton after a clause beginning with οὐκ ὦν cp. note on c. 11, l. 17.

16. τῶν παράλων, the party of the shore (see H. G. Ind. art. Ἀττικῆ), οἵπερ ἐδόκουν μάλιστα διώκειν τὴν μέσην πολιτείαν, Arist. Ath. Pol. 13. τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου, the Πεδιεῖς or Πεδιακοί, wealthy dwellers in the capital and the neighbouring plains of Athens and Eleusis, and supporters of a close oligarchy.

19. καταφρονήσας 'having fixed his mind on,' καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα, viii. 10. Herod. only uses the word once (iv. 134) with the genit. in the ordinary meaning of 'despise,' but cp. c. 66, l. 6.

20. ἤγειρε 'collected,' from ἀγείρω, not from ἐγείρω.

21. τῷ λόγῳ 'ostensibly.' He really (τῷ ἔργῳ) was playing for his own hand. τῶν ὑπερακρίων, generally called Διάκριοι, dwellers in the Highlands (see *art.* 'Αττική). Among them Aristotle (*loc. cit.*) includes those who had been reduced to poverty by the Solonian abolition of debts and those whose doubtful descent made them afraid of being disfranchised by the oligarchs. The poorer citizens moreover, who under Solon's constitution only possessed the right to vote and sit as jurors, would naturally be discontented with their inferior position and ready to throw in their lot with 'the people's friend.'

22. ἡμίονους. For a similar omission of the article Stein compares iii. 122 αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα.

24. δῆθεν 'to be sure,' ironical, implies that the whole story was a fabrication. Cp. c. 73, l. 24.

25. ἐδέετο κ.τ.λ. 'asked the people that he might get some protection from them.' Cp. Plato, *Rep.* VIII. 566 B τὸ τυραννικὸν αἴτημα τὸ πολυθρύλητον...αἰτεῖν τὸν δῆμον φύλακάς τινος τοῦ σώματος ἵνα σῶς αὐτοῖς ᾗ ὁ τοῦ δήμου βοηθός. Solon offered the most strenuous opposition to the request, *Ath. Pol.* 14.

26. πρότερον εὐδοκίμησας κ.τ.λ. The war between Athens and Megara was due to the conflicting claims of these states to the island of Salamis. According to one tradition (Plut. *Sol.* 8, cp. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 17) Peisistratus co-operated with Solon against Megara some time before 594 B.C. But Peisistratus who died in 527 B.C. was certainly too young at that time to have 'captured Nisaea,' and in any case the reputation gained by such an exploit would have been of small service to him in winning a throne at least 35 years later. Aristotle himself (*loc. cit.*) pointed out the chronological impossibility of the story. Peisistratus' brilliant *coup* at Nisaea must have taken place a few years previous to 560 B.C., the date of his first tyranny. It was afterwards wrongly confused with the far earlier operations under Solon. Nisaea was of particular importance to Megara as securing her communications with Salamis.

36 30. τούτους repeats ἀνδρας 'those, I mean, who...,' cp. c. 69, l. 18.

31. κορυνηφόροι 'club-bearers,' a feeble attempt to disguise the fact that they were a tyrant's bodyguard (δορυφόροι).

34. τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας 'the existing magistrates.'

35. ἐπὶ τε κ.τ.λ. 'but administered the state after the established constitution.' For ὅτε...τε cp. c. 63, l. 9; c. 119, l. 27; c. 160, l. 18. νέμων parallel to μεταλλάξας would be syntactically more precise, cp. c. 19, l. 9.

CHAPTER LX.

1. **μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον.** Peisistratus was expelled ἐκτῶ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν πρώτην κατάστασιν (*Ath. Pol.* 14), hence in B.C. 555.

6. **ἐκ νέης** 'afresh.' Cp. ἐξ ὑστέρης, c. 108, l. 17, ἐκ τῆς ἰθιῆς, iii. 127.

7. **περιελαυνόμενος τῇ στάσι** 'harassed by the struggle.' Stein comparing c. 61, l. 12 takes τῇ στάσι to mean 'by his own party,' but had Herod. intended that, he would probably have employed a less ambiguous phrase.

9. **ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι** 'on condition of being made despot,' cp. ἐπὶ τοῦτοις and contrast ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ 'with a view to his return.'

12. **ἐπεὶ γε...μᾶλλον**, subordinate to εἰ κ.τ.λ. l. 15 and resumed by καὶ τότε γε in that clause, 'a device by far the most artless that I can discover, considering at least that at a time when the Hellenic race had been long since distinguished from the barbarian as cleverer and further from simple artlessness, they contrived so late in the day (καὶ τότε γε) such a device among the Athenians who....'

19. **δακτύλους.** 24 δάκτυλοι = 1 πῆχυς = 18½ ins. Phya was about 37 6 feet in height.

21. **προδέξαντες** 'having first shown the sort of bearing which would be most becoming for her to assume.' The constr. is οἷόν τι ἔχουσα ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον ἔχουσα φανέεσθαι.

27. **κατάγει** 'is bringing back,' cp. ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ, l. 11. The word is technical in the sense of recalling exiles from banishment. Cp. τοὺς κατιόντας, c. 62, l. 12.

29. **ἔς τοὺς δήμους** 'into the country,' contrasted with οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει. The demes of Attica were local subdivisions corresponding more or less to our parishes. They were named either from important towns or villages, as Eleusis, Marathon, Acharnae, or else after distinguished families, as Daedalidae, Butadae. The affairs of each deme were managed by a president (δήμαρχος), treasurer (ταμίης) and subordinate officials, and they all possessed a separate religious organisation with special temples and priests. They were 100 in number in the time of Cleisthenes who made them the basis of his political reforms.

CHAPTER LXI.

1. **ἀπολαβῶν**, probably in B.C. 550. This second tyranny can only have lasted a few months.

4. οἷα 'since,' c. 66, l. 3; c. 189, l. 20. παίδων. Hippias and Hipparchus.
5. ἐναγέων 'under a curse.' See H. G. Ind. *art.* Ἀλκμεωνίδαί.
10. δεινόν τι 'indignation,' lit. 'a terrible state of mind.' Cp. vi. 138 δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε 'an awful thought came over them.'
- 38 11. ὀργῇ δὲ ὡς εἶχε, c. 114, l. 21; 'in his anger he there and then....' τὴν ἔχθρην, due to his dealings with Peisistratus.
15. Ἰππίεω κ.τ.λ. 'Hippias' counsel having prevailed that they should try to recover....' Cp. iii. 82 γνώμησι νικᾶν 'to have one's counsels prevail.'
17. αἵτινες...τι 'which happened to be under any obligation to them.' Cp. iii. 140 εὐεργέτης τῷ ἐγὼ προαιδεύμαι.
18. πολλῶν, including the ruling aristocracy of Eretria (*Ath. Pol.* 15).
20. οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν. Arist. *loc. cit.* fills in the details. Peisistratus did not remain the whole time at Eretria but 'first founded a colony at a place called Rhaecelus on the Thermaic Gulf, and thence passed to the district round Mt Pangaeum where he acquired wealth and collected mercenaries. Then after 10 years he returned to Eretria and set about recovering his power by force.' διέφυ 'intervened,' lit. 'grew between,' an expression doubtless borrowed from a poet. No parallel is quoted.
22. Ἀργεῖοι, under Hegesistratus 'who had the surname of Thessalus,' son of Peisistratus by Timonassa, an Argive woman, and at the time a youth less than 20 years old (*Ath. Pol.* 17).

CHAPTER LXII.

1. διὰ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτεος 'in the course of the 11th year,' a remarkable expression which would naturally mean 'every 11th year'; cp. διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης 'every other day.' We should have expected διὰ ἑνδεκα ἐτέων 'after an interval of 11 years.'
3. ἴσχουσι 'they hold.'
7. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος 'those in the city,' ἐκ because they are regarded from the point of view of the invaders at Marathon.
- 39 12. τοὺς κατιόντας 'the returning exiles' (Macaulay), cp. c. 60, l. 27.
14. ἐς τῷαυτὸ συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται 'meet the enemy when they reach,' lit. 'coming together to the same place, sc. with the enemy, reach.'

15. ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα 'encamped opposite,' v. 74. For θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα 'to pile arms' when bivouacking, cp. ix. 52 ἀπικόμενοι ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὄπλα.

16. θεΐη πομπῇ χρεώμενος 'under divine guidance.'

17. Ἀμφίλυτος. Plato calls him ὁ ἡμεδαπὸς Ἀμφ. He was an Acarnanian resident at Athens. Valckenaer's suggestion Ἀχαρνεὺς is ingenious but uncalled for. Acarnania was a home of prophets. See Stein's note.

21. οἰμήσουσι, in Homer of birds swooping on their prey, ἄμνησεν δὲ ἀλεις ὥστ' αἰετός, *Il.* xxii. 308. The image is that of a nocturnal fisherman (νυκτερευτής, Plat. *Laus* 824 B), who has made his cast and awaits the moment when 'the tunnies shall dart through the moonlit night' into the net.

CHAPTER LXIII.

2. συλλαβῶν 'having grasped,' c. 91, l. 21. δέκεσθαι, c. 48, l. 7.
 4. δῆ 'actually,' expressing surprise at their carelessness.
 5. μετεξέτεροι... ὕπνον 'some of them engaged either in dice-playing or in sleeping.'
 9. μήτε... τε. Cp. c. 59, l. 35.

CHAPTER LXIV.

2. τὸ τρίτον, probably in 538 B.C. There is much uncertainty as to the chronology of Peisistratus. The statements of Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 14f. and *Polit.* v. 35, do not agree with one another or with Herod. (Stein).

4. συνόδοισι, cp. συμμόντων, l. 5. πρόσσδος is the ordinary word for 'revenue,' iii. 89, vi. 46. αὐτόθεν, mainly from a tax of one-tenth on all produce of the soil (*Ath. Pol.* 16).

5. Στρυμόνος. He must have had private estates in this district, which was famous for its silver mines and valuable forests of timber (v. 23). Cp. note on c. 61, l. 20 for his connexion with Thrace and Macedonia.

6. μὴ generalises as in c. 32, l. 9 'of any who did not at once flee.'

9. πρὸς τε ἔτι τούτοισι. For the order cp. c. 123, l. 7.

10. καθήρας. He thereby secured divine, or at least priestly countenance for his despotism. τῶν λογίων. The article points to a definite collection, cp. v. 90 τοὺς χρησμούς τοὺς ἐκτηντο μὲν πρότερον αἰ

Πεισιστρατίδαι ἐξελαυνόμενοι δὲ ἔλιπον ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. See also note on c. 65, l. 4.

11. ἐπ' ὅσον...εἶχε 'so far as the temple's view extended.' τοῦ ἱροῦ is a subjective genitive. Contrast Thuc. VII. 71 τὴν ἐποψιν τῆς ναυμαχίας. A more thorough purification was effected in B.C. 426. Cp. H. G. Ind. art. Δῆλος.

15. ἔφευγον 'were in exile.' Cp. note on c. 9, l. 9.

CHAPTER LXV.

1. τοὺς μὲν. The narrative returns to c. 59, l. 1 τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κ.τ.λ.

2. τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον loosely used. Herod. means in B.C. 555 (note on c. 59, l. 3), but the digression has brought us down to B.C. 538. κατέχοντα, cp. vi. 40 κατελάμβανε δὲ μιν ἄλλα τῶν κατεχόντων πρηγμάτων χαλεπώτερα.

4. τῷ πολέμῳ 'in the war,' as though the reader were already familiar with it. The article gives an air of homeliness to the narrative, cp. c. 64, l. 10.

5. ἐπὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Both kings reigned about B.C. 600—560.

6. ἄλλους. History records no other Spartan wars at this period. The Second Messenian War had been concluded in B.C. 668. πολέμους, for the accus. cp. εὐτυχεῖν τὰ πάντα, iii. 40.

8. καὶ κακονομῶτατοι ἦσαν 'actually had the worst institutions.' The result was constant στάσις, the kings themselves setting a bad example (vi. 52). Cp. Thuc. I. 18 ἡ Λακεδαιμόνων...ἐπὶ πλείστον ὧν ἴσμεν χρόνον στασιάσασα ὁμῶς ἐκ παλαιάτου καὶ εὐνομήθη.

9. καὶ ξένοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι 'and in that they had no dealings with strangers,' another aspect of their κακονομία. κατὰ τε ξείνους, the strict antithesis to κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτούς, would have conveyed no definite meaning.

16. ἦ...ἦ, the common mode of introducing an indirect alternative question in Homer. Cp. *Il.* II. 300. Attic would have used πότερον... ἦ or εἴτε.. εἴτε.

17. τι καὶ μᾶλλον, cp. c. 44, l. 2. ἔλπομαι 'methinks.' With θεὸν supply μαντεύσομαι.

41 19. τὴν Πυθίην. Plutarch's story (*Lyc.* 5) is that Lycurgus, after seeing his nephew Charilaus safely on the throne and spending some time in foreign travel, was invited by the Spartans to undertake the reform of the state. As a preliminary he consulted the Delphic Apollo

who revealed to him in an oracle 'that which should be far the best of all constitutions.' This legend accounts for the addition of the following lines (Diodorus, *Excerpt. Vat.* 1) to the Pythia's answer as given by Herod.:

ἤκεισ δ' εὐνομίαν αἰτεύμενος· αὐτὰρ ἐγωγε
δῶσω τὴν οὐκ ἄλλη ἐπιχθονίων πόλις ἔξει.

κόσμον, c. 99, l. 4, cp. *κοσμέων*, c. 59, l. 36. It was a favourite word with the Dorians for political order. The Cretan chief magistrates were called *κόσμοι*.

20. **ὡς...λέγουσι, ...ἀγαγέσθαι** anacoluthic. *λέγουσι*, although parenthetical, extends its influence over the whole sentence, cp. c. 191, l. 28. **ἐπιτροπέυσαντα** 'having become guardian of.' Labotas is said to have reigned about B.C. 1000. Other accounts put Lycurgus much later (cp. H. G. Ind.).

22. **ἐκ Κρήτης**. Aristotle, *Polit.* II. 10, agrees. But the resemblance between the Spartan and Cretan systems is probably due not to borrowing but to similarity of origin. Both were devised by Dorian conquerors settled amid a hostile population and consequently requiring to maintain a high standard of discipline and military efficiency.

23. **ταῦτα**, the several items of the *κατεστειῶς κόσμος*, l. 19.

24. **ἐφύλαξε**, by putting the people under oath to make no alterations so long as he was away from Sparta. He proposed to make his constitution eternal by never coming back (Plut. *Lyc.* 29). **ταῦτα**, the new *νόμιμα* implied in the preceding phrase.

25. **μετὰ δὲ...ἔχοντα** 'and afterwards he established the institutions relating to war.'

The contrast between *τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα* and *τὰ νόμιμα πάντα* is somewhat awkward. *πάντα* would naturally include the military institutions. Stein brackets the whole passage *μετὰ δὲ...Λυκούργος* as an interpolation.

ἔνωμοτίας, the smallest units of the Spartan army consisting of some 32 or 36 men (Thuc. v. 68, Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4. 2). **τριηκάδας**. If the Lacedaemonian was similar to the Athenian *τριακάς*, it must have been a subdivision of the tribe containing 30 families. Its military significance is not apparent, and Stein finds in the word an argument against the genuineness of the passage.

26. **συσσίτια** 'messes,' called also *φιδίτια* and *ἀνδρεία*, 'a transfer of the life of the camp to times of peace,' as Holm says. The members of each mess, generally numbering about fifteen, severally contributed their own shares of food, wine and money as the necessary condition of

citizenship. **ἐφόρους**. The institution of these five annual executive officers, whose political importance quite overshadowed that of the kings, is by another tradition assigned to the reign of Theopompus, B.C. 750.

27. **γέροντας**. The *γερουσία* or senate consisted of the two kings and 28 members over 60 years of age who were elected by acclamation in the popular assembly and held office for life. The *γερουσία* was probably as old as Sparta itself. Cp. *A Companion to Greek Studies* §§ 380—389 for further details as to Spartan institutions.

CHAPTER LXVI.

2. **εἰσάμενοι** from *ἕζω*. *ει* is borrowed from the indicative, cp. *εἶσε* iii. 61. See Smyth, *Ionic Dialect* § 630. **σέβονται**. Animal sacrifices were offered him (Plut. *Lyc.* 31). He is called the ‘god Lycurgus’ in certain Laconian inscriptions of imperial times, which mention the names of several officers connected with his worship (Frazer ad Paus. III. 16. 6).

3. **ἐν τε...ἀνδρῶν** literally ‘in a country both fertile and belonging to men not few in number.’ *τε* is slightly misplaced. *πλήθει* depends on *ὀλίγων*.

4. **ἀνά τε ἔδραμον**. For the tmesis cp. vii. 156 *αἱ Συρήκουσαι...* *ἀνά τ’ ἔδραμον καὶ ἀνέβλαστον*, and c. 194, l. 22. The metaphor is Homeric, *ὁ δ’ ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἴσος* II. xviii. 56, Achilles ‘shot up like a young branch.’

6. **καταφρονήσαντες** ‘presuming.’ *κατα-* has its contemptuous sense here; contrast c. 59, l. 19.

7. **ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ** ‘with a view to (conquering) the whole,’ cp. c. 60, l. 11.

11. **βαλανηφάγοι** ‘acorn-eating,’ an epithet suggesting extreme antiquity. According to Theophrastus (ap. Porphyry *De Abst.* II. 5) man first subsisted on grass and herbs. Next ‘when the earth began to put forth trees’ he ate acorns; and then crying *ἄλις δρυός* ‘enough of oak,’ adopted a diet of cereals.

14. **δώσω κ.τ.λ.** The natural meaning is that the god will give them Tegea to dance in and to measure out in lots among themselves. Müller’s suggestion that *ὀρχήσασθαι* might be derived from *ὄρχος* ‘a row of vines’ and thus refer to the cultivation of vineyards by Lacedaemonian captives, would doubtless have won the hearty approval of the Delphian

authorities, but probably does not represent an idea present in the Pythia's mind when delivering the oracle.

17. οἱ δὲ, cp. c. 17, l. 9. This first expedition against Tegea was led by king Charilaus (B.C. 884). Pausanias VIII. 48. 4 states that the women of Tegea were largely responsible for the rout of the invaders.

19. κιβδήλω 'deceitful,' cp. c. 75, l. 6, a word properly applied to counterfeit coin. ὡς δὴ 'thinking they were sure to.' 42

21. ἐφέροντο, a vivid narrative imperfect reminiscent of φερόμενοι l. 18. The aorist would have been more natural, as the action is prior to the time of ἐχοντες. Cp. c. 113, l. 6.

22. σχολίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι, they worked in gangs fastened together by a rope 'which lay stretched along the ground like a measuring-tape' (Woods).

24. περὶ, round the interior walls. The temple was destroyed by fire in B.C. 395 and restored on a magnificent scale by Scopas, the famous architect and sculptor. Even in Pausanias' day the fetters survived, 'though some had been eaten away by rust.' Another of this temple's attractions was the hide of the Calydonian boar 'rotting away with age and now quite bare of bristles' (Paus. VIII. 47. 2).

CHAPTER LXVII.

6. γενόμενοι, for a similar repetition cp. c. 68, l. 17.

10. Ὀρέστω. Stein ingeniously accounts for the presence of Orestes in Arcadia (cp. Paus. III. 11. 10) by supposing a confusion with the old Arcadian hero Oresthes who gave his name to Ὀρέσθειον (ix. 11; some MSS. Ὀρέστειον). This view is supported by Paus. VIII. 3. 2, who mentions that the town of Oresthasium founded by Orestheus was subsequently called Oresteum after Orestes, son of Agamemnon.

13. τὴν, sc. ὁδόν, quasi-cognate accus. with ἐπεμπον.

16. τις ironically suggests that they had never heard of the place.

18. ἀντίτυπος adjectival 'answered by stroke,' explained by c. 68, l. 19.

20. Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἕσση, a good specimen of oracular profundity. The words would naturally mean 'thou shalt be Tegea's helper,' and thus if the Spartans were again defeated, the oracle's credit would be safe. On the other hand they might be interpreted 'thou shalt be a helper *in the matter of* or *against* Tegea' (cp. Aesch. *Theb.* 368 παγκλαύτων ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον), doubtless the oracle's meaning—after the event.

43 22. **ἐς οὖ**, a variant of **ἐς ὅ** well attested in Herod., cp. iv. 30, 166 and especially iii. 31 **ἐς οὖ ἀποθάνωσι...μέχρι τούτου**, an apparent case of attraction which perhaps gives a clue to the usage. Possibly it is nothing but an error of copyists familiar with **ἕως οὖ** in later authors (Herod. uses **ἕως οὖ** only once, ii. 143).

24. **οἱ...ἐξιόντες** 'those who are passing out,' i.e. are in their last year of service (l. 26).

25. **ἰππέων**. The **ἰππέες** at Sparta were 300 picked men (viii. 124) from 20 to 30 years of age, who formed the royal bodyguard. In spite of their name they seem generally to have gone on foot (cp. Arnold on Thuc. v. 72).

27. **διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλίνύειν** 'not to rest from being sent to and fro,' cp. viii. 71 **ἐλίννον οὐδένα χρόνον...ἐργαζόμενοι**.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

3. **ἐπιμιξίης** 'dealings,' in consequence of a truce.

5. **ἐν θώματι**. Iron was still much less common than bronze, hence his surprise at seeing it wrought. In the Homeric poems iron plays quite a subordinate part. Even after the metal came into ordinary use, **χαλκεύς** remained the generic word for 'smith.'

6. **μαθῶν** 'having noticed,' c. 10, l. 9.

8. **ὅκου** 'since,' c. 192, l. 12 and often in Herod.

12. **μὴ μὲν**. For **μὴ** strengthening the negation of the governing phrase (**ὕπ' ἀπιστίας**) and for the intensive **μὲν**, Attic **μήν**, cp. iii. 67 **ἔξαρκος ἦν μὴ μὲν κατακτεῖναι**. **ἦ μὲν** in oaths, c. 196, l. 29, c. 212, l. 14 (**μήν** MSS. in both places), iv. 154, vi. 74.

16. **τὸν Ὀρέστεια**, the Orestes spoken of by the oracle. For the article with the predicate in a similar sense cp. **τοὺς ἀνέμους**, etc. ll. 18—20.

18. **έόντας**, agreeing with the nearest noun. **τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα κ.τ.λ.** The hammer is the stroke, the anvil, which as it were hits the iron back, the counterstroke.

44 21. **ἐπὶ κακῶ**, cp. note on c. 41, l. 9.

24. **ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ** 'on a sham pretext.' The accusation and banishment were simply intended to gull the smith of Tegea.

27. **ἐμισθοῦτο...τὴν αὐλήν** 'wanted to hire the court of him, but he would not let it.' Note the force of the imperfects.

28. **ἀνέγνωσε** 'persuaded,' a causal use peculiar to Ionic.

CHAPTER LXIX.

3. ἐντειλάμενός τε 'and with instructions.' τε coordinates the participle with δεησομένους despite the change of case and tense. Cp. c. 70, l. 7; c. 85, l. 5.

7. τὸν Ἕλληνα, collectively of the nation, cp. c. 163, l. 14, viii. 136 συμβουλευόντα σύμμαχον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθαι.

10. ἄνευ...ἀπάτης, Latin *sine dolo malo*, a stock formula in treaties, viii. 140 a.

15. τινες (ἐς) αὐτούς, cp. iii. 48 ἔβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τούτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον. It is extremely doubtful whether εὐεργεσία ἔχει τινα is a possible phrase in the sense 'a service holds one under obligation.' For the periphrastic pluperfect cp. c. 73, l. 7; c. 75, l. 2.

18. ὠνέοντο 'wished to buy,' c. 68, l. 27. The Spartans were forbidden by law to possess gold or silver. τοῦτο τὸ, c. 59, l. 30. As the statue of Pythæan Apollo at Thornax was 'just like that at Amyclæ,' it must have been a rude and ancient image of colossal size resembling a bronze pillar except for the possession of feet, a helmeted head and hands carrying a spear and bow. Croesus' present was after all not employed upon the statue at Thornax but used to gild the face of the one at Amyclæ which, says Pausanias, was thought more of (Paus. III. 10. 8, 19. 2, Theopompus frag. 219).

CHAPTER LXX.

3. τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δὲ 'not only...but also,' cp. c. 30, l. 20.

4. αὐτοὶ 'themselves' as contrasted with their gift.

5. ζῳδίων, small figures in relief, flowers, plants, etc. as well as animals. Cp. ζῳα, c. 203, l. 11, of devices stained upon garments, and iv. 88 ζῳα γραψάμενος τὴν ζεῦξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου 'having had the bridging of the Bosphorus painted.'

7. χωρέοντα, coordinated with πλήσαντες, c. 69, l. 3.

9. διφασίας λεγομένης τάσδε 'stated in two different ways as follows,' cp. iii. 122.

16. ἰδιώτας δὲ, note the change of construction.

17. τάχα δὲ ἄν...λέγοιεν 'probably would say,' the optative implying that under the circumstances the story *would be* a natural one for them to tell, Goodwin *M. T.* § 443. Cp. c. 2, l. 7. In such usages the noteworthy point is that the optative with ἄν refers to a past and not, as usually, to a future event.

CHAPTER LXXI.

- 46 2. **ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ** 'having misunderstood the oracle,' mentioned in c. 53, l. 14.
5. **τῶν τις Λυδῶν**, a frequent order in Herod., c. 85, l. 11.
7. **καὶ τὸ κάρτα**, to be construed with *ἔχων*, 'especially, more than ever,' c. 191, l. 33. *καὶ κάρτα*, c. 119, l. 21.
8. **οὔνομά οἱ**, for similar instances of *asyndeton* cp. c. 179, l. 16; c. 205, l. 3.
10. **ἀναξυρίδας**, tight-fitting breeches, different from the loose baggy trousers (*θύλακοι*) generally worn by Orientals. For the Persian dress see note on c. 135, l. 3.
13. **πρὸς δὲ** 'and moreover,' c. 207, l. 32.
15. **τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δέ**, c. 30, l. 20; c. 70, l. 3. **τοῖσί γε μὴ, μὴ** seems to generalise as in c. 32, l. 9; c. 64, l. 6: 'what will you take away from them, *people* who have nothing?' To say that the phrase is equivalent to *εἰ γέ σφι μὴ ἔστι μηδέν* (cp. Abicht) comes to much the same thing. Latin would translate by *qui* with the subjunctive.
16. **μάθε** 'notice,' cp. the use in c. 10, l. 9; c. 68, l. 6.
18. **ἐγὼ μὲν**. A clause introduced by *σὺν δέ*, begging the king not to attack the Persians, would naturally follow, but is suppressed out of respect.
21. **γάρ** does not explain the preceding clause but justifies the whole story.

CHAPTER LXXII.

- 47 4. **γάρ** gives the reason why they were subjects of the Medes. Living east of the Halys they were within the limits of the Median empire.
6. **διὰ Κιλικῶν**. The Cilicia of Herod. extended northwards halfway across the peninsula. See H. G. Ind. **μετὰ δὲ** 'and afterwards.'
11. **τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω**, the western portion of Asia Minor, *τὰ ἐντὸς Ἄλλυος*, c. 6, l. 2, as contrasted with the interior of the continent, *τὰ ἄνω*, c. 177, l. 2.
12. **ἔστι δὲ...ἀπάσης** 'here is the neck of all this country.' **οὗτος**, attracted into the gender of its predicate, is the line of the Halys produced as far as the Mediterranean.

13. **μῆκος ὁδοῦ**, accus. of reference 'as regards the length of the journey.' As the actual distance from Amisus on the Euxine to the Gulf of Issus is 300 miles, Herodotus' estimate of the time taken on the journey is clearly much below the mark. In iv. 101 a day's journey is reckoned as 200 stades or 23 miles. Even supposing that the **εὐζωνος ἀνὴρ** (**εὐζωνος** = **μὴ ἔχων φορτίον** Hesychius) could walk half as fast again, the crossing would take 9 days. The extraordinary performance of Pheidippides who covered the 140 miles between Athens and Sparta in less than two days (vi. 106) is not in point here. Even Pliny (vi. 7) underestimated the distance by 100 miles.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

6. **γαμβρόν** 'brother-in-law,' see c. 74, l. 20. The word can be used of any relation by marriage.

8. **Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων**, dependent upon the composite phrase **ἐλθὼν ἀνδρῶν** 'a troop of men consisting of nomad Scythians.' The following story must be connected with the great Scythian invasion of Media in the reign of Cyaxares (c. 104). After the expulsion or destruction of the main body (cc. 105, 106), some of the survivors were perhaps admitted into the service of Cyaxares and after winning his confidence committed some outrage which forced them to fly for their lives.

13. **ὥστε** = **ἄτε** 'since,' l. 20.

15. **τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων**. Plato *Laws* 795 A says they could use **48** bow and arrow with equal ease in either hand. 'Their quiver is as an open sepulchre,' Jeremiah v. 16.

19. **ὡς διέδεξε** 'as he showed'; also used impersonally, ii. 134, iii. 82. **ὀργὴν οὐκ ἄκρος** 'had not the best of tempers,' lit. 'was not eminent in respect of temper.' Cp. v. 124 **ἦν γὰρ, ὡς διέδεξε, Ἀρισταγόρης ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος** 'was not strong-minded.' Most editors with one MS. omit **οὐκ** and translate 'quick-tempered,' **ἀκράχολος**. But there is no evidence for this meaning, and **ἀκράχολος** probably has nothing to do with **ἄκρος**.

For **ὀργή** = 'temper' in the neutral sense, cp. vi. 128 **διεπειράτο αὐτῶν τῆς τε ἀνδραγαθίης καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς, καὶ παιδεύσειός τε καὶ τρόπου. τρηχέως... ἀεικέλη** 'treated them with great harshness and indignity.'

25. **τὴν ταχίστην**, sc. **ὁδόν**, cognate accus. with **κομίζεσθαι**.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

6. ἐν δὲ...ἐποιήσαντο. As these words, if referred to a real battle by night, seem somewhat abrupt and pointless, most editors take them of the one interrupted by the eclipse, 'and among other battles they fought a kind of (τινά) nocturnal battle.' But ἐν δὲ certainly suggests that the νυκτομαχίη occurred before, not during, the sixth year of the war, and δὲ (l. 7) is very awkward in the explanatory sense of γάρ. Probably the words are not genuine, being either a marginal addition of Herodotus' own which he never properly incorporated into his text, or else a mere copyist's interpolation.

7. ἐπὶ Ἰσης, sc. μοίρης, Latin *aeguo Marte*.

10. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν κ.τ.λ. The eclipse took place on May 28, B.C. 585 (Prof. Airy, *Proceedings of Royal Society*, 1853; most of the ancient chronologists agree). Thales, who did not profess to predict the exact date of the eclipse but only limited it to a particular year, was probably acquainted with Babylonian astronomy. By keeping a careful record of eclipses the Babylonians discovered them to be periodic and consequently were able to foretell with more or less accuracy the years of their recurrence.

15. καὶ ἀμφοτέροι, cp. c. 52, l. 6; c. 82, l. 34.

18. Δαβύνητος. See H. G. Ind.

19. γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν 'an interchange of marriages.' Herod. mentions only one.

20. ἔγνωσαν 'they decided that,' cp. vi. 108 ταῦτα γνόντες. At the same time the Halys was fixed as the boundary between the Median and Lydian empires, cp. c. 72, l. 4.

22. ἄνευ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς 'without a strong tie.' Cp. Latin *necessitudo* of a bond of relationship. ἰσχυραί, predicative with συμμένειν.

24. τὰ πέρ τε Ἕλληνες, sc. ποιέονται. τε 'both' parallel to καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι. The blood-covenant is common in all parts of the world. For the Scythian ritual cp. iv. 70, for that of the Iberians and Armenians Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 47. Sometimes the blood of a slain victim is substituted for that of the contracting parties, Aesch. *Septem* 43.

CHAPTER LXXV.

3. τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοισι 'the tales to follow,' c. 107 f.

6. πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ 'on the side of, favourable to, himself.' Cp. c. 124, l. 19, Soph. *O. T.* 1434 πρὸς σοῦ γὰρ, οὐδ' ἐμοῦ φράσω.

7. τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν, i.e. Cappadocia, c. 71, l. 3, which Cyaxares had incorporated into the Median, c. 103, l. 10, and Cyrus into the Persian empire.

10. τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας 'the existing bridges,' perhaps over separate channels of the river. But cp. note on c. 205, l. 10.

11. ὁ πολλὸς λόγος 'the general story.'

14. ταύτας, existing in Herodotus' day.

17. καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς 'partly also on the right hand,' i.e. to the west of the army which must have been marching upstream in a southerly direction.

19. ὅκως ἄν... λάβοι 'that the river might take the camp pitched there in the rear.' For ὅκως ἄν, final with optative, after a past tense cp. c. 99, l. 9, c. 152, l. 5 (ὡς ἄν), after a present tense c. 110, l. 17, the only case in Herod. The construction is practically confined to Homer and Herodotus. Goodwin *M. T.* § 329.

20. ταύτη 'by this way,' explained by κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα.

22. καὶ ἐσχίσθη 'was actually parted,' realisation contrasted with purpose.

24. καὶ τὸ παράπαν, to be taken together, cp. c. 71, l. 7; c. 117, l. 3.

26. κῶς...διέβησαν αὐτόν; Presumably they could have diverted the river into its old bed again.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

4. κατὰ Σ... μάλιστά κη 'roughly speaking near Sinope,' cp. ii. 75 χῶρος κατὰ Βουτοῦν μάλιστά κη κείμενος. For the geography see H. G. Ind. *art.* Πτερία.

8. περιοκίδας, sc. πόλις, cp. ix. 115. οὐδὲν... αἰτίους. Croesus' oppression of innocent people provokes his downfall. For the moral cp. c. 130, l. 15.

11. μεταξὺ, between Persia and Pteria.

12. ὀρμησαί 'began,' governing ἐξελαύνειν, cp. vii. 150 ὀρμησαί στρατεύεσθαι.

16. κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν 'by force of arms,' cp. iv. 201 κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ αἰρετοί, δόλω δὲ αἰρετοί.

18. ἀμφοτέρων 'on both sides,' dependent upon πολλῶν, c. 80, l. 33; c. 82, l. 34. οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες, in apposition with the subject of διέστησαν.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

- 51 2. **μεμφθείς** 'dissatisfied with,' active in sense, cp. vii. 146, but *μεμφάμενος*, ii. 24.
3. **οί**, Croesus, 'his army which had taken part in the engagement.'
4. **τούτο**, i.e. τὸ πλῆθος.
14. **ένένωτο**. Ionic pluperf. middle of *νοέω*. Owing to the accumulation of intervening clauses the participle *έν νόῳ ἔχων* l. 6 is resumed as a finite verb.
17. **κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας** 'round to his several allies,' cp. c. 30, l. 7. For *συμμαχίας* = *συμμάχους*, cp. c. 81, l. 4; c. 82, l. 2.
19. **ὅς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός** 'which army of his was mercenary.' See Woods' note. Stein takes the phrase as equivalent to *ὅσον ἦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ξεινικόν* 'so much at least of it as was mercenary,' but his citations hardly support this interpretation of *ὅς*. Van Herwerden's *ὅσος* is extremely plausible.
- 20, 21. **μή κοτε κ.τ.λ.** For *ἐλπίζω* with the constr. of a verb of fearing cp. viii. 53 οὐτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μή κοτέ τις ἀναβαλεῖ. ἄρα 'actually.' οὐτῶ παραπλησίως, *tam aequo Marte*, Bähr. Cp. ἐπὶ ἴσης, c. 74, l. 7.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

4. **ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν**. Cp. note on c. 22, l. 8.
5. **ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τ**. If the words are correct, *ἐξηγητέων* must be taken adjectivally, 'to the abode of the Interpreter Telmessians,' *ἐξηγητέων* probably being, as Woods suggests, a recognised title. For the genitive cp. c. 92, l. 13. H. Richards *Class. Rev.* xix. 291 objects to the phrase on the ground that "with such a genitive we can only supply a word like *house* or *temple*, a building, not a country," but the reference may well be to a definite college of diviners with a special residence.
- 52 16. **τῶν** for *τούτων τὰ*. The nominative case of a relative pronoun is very seldom attracted into the genitive. For instances see Plato, *Theaet.* 158 A οὐδὲν ὦν φαίνεται εἶναι, and *Rep.* 465 D with Adam's note. Cp. c. 92, l. 25 for attraction into the accus.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

4. **πρῆγμαί οἱ εἶναι** 'to be a good thing for him,' cp. c. 207, l. 9, vii. 12 and the similar use of *ἔργον* in c. 17, l. 13.

9. ἐηλύθει. The pluperfect which represents an action as already completed at a past time and thus neglects the *duration* of the action, is naturally used of a *sudden* occurrence. Cp. c. 80, l. 29; c. 84, l. 23; c. 189, l. 10. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 52.

11. ἧ depends on the notion of contrariety in παρὰ δόξαν. Cp. viii. 4.

15. αὐτοί, the men themselves as contrasted with their horses and weapons.

CHAPTER LXXX.

4. ἄλλοι, the Cogamus joining the Hermus a few miles above 53
Sardis, and the Pactolus, for which see H. G. Ind. *art.* Σάρδιες.
συρρηγνῦσι, 3rd pers. plural.

13. ἐνεσταλμένους. ἐνστέλλω appears to occur nowhere else.

22. κάμηλον ἵππος. For the frequent asyndeton in explanatory clauses cp. c. 84, l. 1; c. 93, l. 5.

24. ἐσεσόφιστο, probably impersonal passive, 'the stratagem had been devised.'

26. ἐπέιχε, sc. τὸν νοῦν, cp. c. 153, l. 21. τι 'somewhat,' i.e. 'considerably,' with ἐλλάμψεσθαι, 'the very arm with which the Lydian king (cp. c. 17, l. 14) was intent upon making a special show.'

27. ὠσφραντο, a rare 1st aorist form for the usual ὠσφροντο, doubted by many critics. Cp. Smyth, *Ionic Dialect* § 608. 3.

34. τὸ τεῖχος, the fortified acropolis on a hill behind the unwallled 54
town.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

1. τοῖσι μὲν 'by the Persians.'

4. διεπέμποντο, the narrative imperfect where English naturally uses the pluperfect, cp. c. 66, l. 21; c. 113, l. 6; c. 186, l. 12.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

3. τοῖσι 'for them,' demonstrative, anticipating the appositional τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι. Monro, *Hom. Gram.* § 258. καὶ αὐτοῖσι 'for themselves too,' as well as for Croesus.

6. Θυρέης...Θυρέας. For difference of number without distinction of meaning cp. Μαλεῶν l. 8, Μαλέην iv. 179; Πλάταιαν viii. 50, ἐν Πλαταιῆσι vii. 231 and regularly elsewhere.

8. **καὶ**. *As well as* Thyreatis the whole eastern seaboard of the Peloponnese, west (*πρὸς ἐσπέρην*) or rather south-west of the Argolid, once belonged to the Argives. The 'remaining islands' must refer not to the present island of Elaphonisi, which was then the promontory of Onugnathus joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus, nor to the islands round Cythera (*νησίδια*, Strabo 363), which are mere rocks, but to the neighbouring Cyclades. Cp. Stein's note.

15. **μηδὲ**. Cp. note on c. 45, l. 7.

55 20. **ὑπελείποντο**, narrative imperfect, hardly distinguishable in meaning from the aorist *ὑπελείφθησαν*, l. 22. Cp. note on c. 81, l. 4.

27. **ἐν τῇ τάξει** 'at his post,' i.e. on the battle-field.

29. **αὐτοὶ**. Construe *ἐκότεροι ἔφασαν αὐτοὶ νικᾶν*. In a treaty which they made with the Lacedaemonians in 420 B.C. the Argives procured the insertion of a clause stipulating *ἐξείναι ὅποτεροισὺν προκαλεσαμένοις... διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον ποτε, ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐκότεροι ἠξίωσαν νικᾶν*. Thuc. v. 41.

31. **ἀποφαίνοντες**, redundant after *λέγοντες οἱ μὲν... οἱ δὲ...*

35. **κατακειράμενοι**, as a sign of grief, ii. 36, vi. 21, Job i. 20. The Romans however let the hair grow long in time of mourning.

40. **τὰ ἐναντία**, gov. by *ἔθεντο νόμον = ἐνομοθέτησαν*. With *κομᾶν*, l. 41, understand *ἔθεντο νόμον*, and for the custom cp. vii. 208.

44. **μιν** resuming *τὸν ἕνα*, l. 41. At Argos Pausanias saw a statue representing Perilaus slaying Othryades, probably 'the embodiment of an Argive tradition which contradicted the Lacedaemonian tradition followed by Herodotus.' Frazer on Paus. II. 20. 7.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

56 5. **ὄρμέατο**, pluperfect. Forms in *-ντο*, cp. *ἐπέπανντο*, l. 9, ix. 52, *κατέστρωντο*, viii. 53, are exceptional in Herod. Smyth, *Ion. Dial.* § 616. *ὄρμημαι* and *πέπαυμαι* Herod. often uses as presents.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

2. **τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη**, used as a single word with its first element indeclinable, instead of *τετάρτη καὶ δεκάτη*. Cp. c. 86, l. 3.

12. **μόνῃ**, agreeing with the feminine locative *τῇ*. Note the duplication of the negative *οὐδὲ... οὐ*, cp. c. 109, l. 7. The monstrous lion-birth is no doubt a mythological attempt to account for the national emblem of Lydia. The lion was sacred to Sandan and Cybele and is

figured on Lydian coins. Cp. Croesus' gift of a golden lion to Delphi, c. 50, l. 15.

13. **δικασάντων** 'having adjudged,' but the word seems unsuitable here. Eur. *Orest.* 164, cited by Schweighäuser, *έδικασε* (i.e. ordained) *φόνον ό Λοξίας έμās ματέρος* is hardly parallel. Reiske proposed *διδαξάντων*.

16. **τῆς άκροπόλιος**, dependent on *τῆ*.

18. **πρός τοῦ Τ. τετραμμένον** 'facing Tmolus.' For the genit. cp. c. 110, l. 9 and ii. 8 *όρος φέρον άπ' άρκτου προς μεσαμβρίης* (*Abicht*). **τῆς πόλιος** 'in the citadel,' as opposed to the lower town, *άστεος*, partitive or geographical genitive, cp. ll. 16, 20.

20. **τῶν τινα Λυδῶν**, the common order in Herod., c. 85, l. 11.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

2. **πρότερον**, c. 34, l. 6; c. 38, l. 10, where see notes. With 57 *έπεικῆς* cp. our use of 'proper,' as in Hebrews xi. 23 'a proper child.'

6. **έπεπόμφεε**. *πεπομφώς* would have been strictly correct, but cp. c. 129, l. 4.

9. **τὸ δέ κ.τ.λ.**, lit. 'it is far better for thee that it should be away,' i.e. that thou shouldst not have thy wish.

12. **άλλογνώσας** 'having mistaken him for another.' For the form cp. *έννώσας = έννόήσας*. *νυν* below resumes after the parenthesis.

16. **έρρηξε φωνήν** 'broke utterance,' used in ii. 2 of the first speech of infants. Cp. the Virgilian *rumpere vocem*.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

8. **δισ έπτά**, a ritual phrase, cp. vii. 114. For the mystical importance of the number seven see note on c. 98, l. 27 and Driver in *Hastings' Dict. of Bible*, iii. 565 a. The legend of the burning of Croesus as given by Herod. is most improbable, as no Persian would have dared to pollute his sacred element by contact with a corpse. The mad Cambyses horrified his subjects by burning the body of Amasis, iii. 16. The tradition preserved by Bacchylides and a Greek vase-painter is far more likely, viz. that the burning of Croesus was an act of self-immolation intended to rescue him from the grasp of his foes. See Dr Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 90 with the Oriental parallels which he quotes.

10. ὅτεω δὴ, *nescio cui*. For the force of δὴ cp. c. 157, l. 6; c. 160, l. 5.

14. τὸν μὲν δὴ κ.τ.λ. Note the transition to orat. obl. For a similar instance in the middle of a story cp. c. 59, l. 14.

18. ἀνευκαίμενον 'having heaved a deep sigh,' *Il. XIX. 314*. Contrast c. 116, l. 7.

22. τοὺς, demonstrative 'they.' Cp. l. 43; c. 24, l. 35.

24. τὸν ἄν κ.τ.λ. The order is τὸν πᾶσι τυρ. ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐγὼ ἄν προετ. μεγ. χρημάτων, the phrase τὸν...ἐλθεῖν being direct object of προετίμησα.

29. ἀποφλαυρίσειε, for indic. and optat. in the same clause cp. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 670.

30. οἶα δὴ εἶπας 'by saying so and so,' with ἀποφλαυρίσειε. ὡς τε κ.τ.λ. is coordinate with ὡς ἦλθε.

31. οὐδέν τι κ.τ.λ. 'not speaking any more with reference to Croesus himself than to the whole human race.' Stein thinks the Greek idiom requires the insertion of οὐ καὶ after ἦ, cp. iv. 118, v. 94, vii. 16, but see Woods' note.

59 39. τὴν τίσιν. See note on c. 32, l. 6.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

6. ἐξ αὐτοῦ, cp. c. 1, l. 2.

17. τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, dative of accompanying circumstance, 'to thy happiness.'

20. ὅστις instead of ὅσπερ. So in Latin, *quis potest esse tam mente captus qui neget*, Cicero, *Cat.* iii. 9. 21.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

60 2. κάρτα with πολλῇ, κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμῶν χωρέων, ii. 27.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

1. ἐπιμελὲς 'a matter of concern,' the singular probably retained because of the familiarity of the phrase ἐπιμελὲς ἐστί.

3. οἱ 'to his (Cyrus) disadvantage.'

5. πλέον 'more than anyone else.'

8. ἐπίδοξα, sc. ἐστί. αὐτῶν is masculine. For ἐξ cp. c. 1, l. 2.

9. προσδέεσθαι, infinitive for imperative, c. 32, l. 42.

CHAPTER XC.

5. **σεῦ**, genit. absol. although referring to the subject of *αἰτέο*, cp. 61 c. 3, l. 8. **ἀνδρὸς βασιλείος**, in appos. with *σεῦ*. **ἔργα καὶ ἔπια ποιέειν**. A similar zeugma in iii. 135, cp. c. 32, l. 36.

11. **ὄ τι**, object of *ἐπηγορέων*, **τούτο** of *παραιτέιτο*, 'what reproach he brought against the god that he made this request.'

15. **κατέβαινε κ.τ.λ.** 'he ended by repeating his request.' Plato, *Rep.* 511B *καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τελευτήν* 'to come to a conclusion.' Cp. c. 116, l. 22; c. 118, l. 5. **ἐπέιναι** = Attic *ἐφείναι*.

26. **νόμος**, sc. *ἐστί*. **εἶναι** goes with *ἀχαριστοῖσι*.

62

CHAPTER XCI.

3. **ἀδύνατα**. For the plural cp. c. 4, l. 8. In Homer and the poets generally the gods are for the most part regarded as dispensers of fate (cp. *Διὸς αἴσα*) or the willing ministers of fate's decrees, but the more primitive belief that there may be opposition between fate and the divine will occasionally comes to the surface, e.g. Hom. *Il.* xvi. 439f., where Zeus is powerless to avert the death of Sarpedon, Hes. *Theog.* 220 where the Fates visit the sins of men and gods, Pindar *Isthm.* vii. 33, Aesch. *P. V.* 518 *οὐκουν ἀν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην (Zeús)*.

4. **πέμπτον**, cp. note on c. 13, l. 11.

15. **τούτων**, genit. of comparison on analogy of *ὑστερον*.

23. **τὰ εἶπε**, resumed by the singular *οὐδὲ τοῦτο*. Stein brackets *τὰ εἶπε* and takes *τὸ* in *τὸ τελευταῖον* as relative,—a very awkward solution.

25. **οὗτος** with *ἡμίονος*, cp. note on c. 9, l. 5.

CHAPTER XCII.

63

2. **Ἴωνίης**. See cc. 5, 6.

7. **τῶν κιώνων**. The ancient temple of Artemis at Ephesus was in process of building during Croesus' reign. A fragment of one of its columns now in the British Museum is inscribed with the letters BA KP AN EN which have been restored with great probability as *Βα[σιλεὺς] Κρο[ίσος] ἀν[έθηκ]εν*. **Προνηίης**, sc. *Ἀθηναίης*. See H. G. Ind. Similarly at the approach to the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes stood statues of Athena and Hermes Pronai, Paus. ix. 10. 2.

11. **ἴσα**, sc. *ἦν*. Stein however supposes the loss of a predicate describing the fate of the offerings, cp. vi. 19.

12. τὰ μὲν νυν, sc. ἀνατεθέντα from ἀνέθηκε.

16. ἀντιστασιώτης, by name Sadyattes, Nic. Dam. 65. Stein plausibly conjectures that Pantaleon was an elder son. Croesus was 35 years old (c. 26, l. 3) on the death of Alyattes who reigned 57 years (c. 25, l. 3), and consequently could not have been born till the 22nd year of his father's reign.

64 23. κνάφου, an instrument of torture set with sharp spikes, properly a comb for carding wool.

25. ἐς τὰ, for ἐς τὰ χωρία τὰ, cp. c. 78, l. 16.

CHAPTER XCIII.

2. οἶά τε. For the Homeric generalising τε cp. *Il.* v. 340 *ιχώρ, οἶός περ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι.*

6. σῆμα. Still to be seen on the north side of the Hermus. Cp. with Herodotus' account Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, I. 145, 'Towards the north it consists of the natural rock, a white horizontally stratified limestone, cut away so as to appear as part of the structure. The upper part is sand and gravel apparently brought from the bed of the Hermus.' It was opened in 1853 and a large sepulchral chamber of white marble discovered, but no sarcophagus.

11. τὰ, understand λέγοντα 'stating what 'part each class had wrought' by their contributions.

16. ἐκδιδούσι 'give themselves away in marriage,' because having earned their dowry they are independent of their father. Among Jews, Greeks, Romans and Muhammedans the father was obliged by law, custom or religion to give a dower to his daughter. Cp. Westermarck, *Hist. of Human Marriage*, p. 411 f.

17. εἶσι, attracted into the number of the predicate. Herodotus' measurements are approximately 1280 and 438 yards. The actual circumference of the barrow is about half a mile, and the breadth 281 yards. It is 270 feet high.

19. αἶναον. The lake still exists but is nowadays liable to dry up during hot summers.

CHAPTER XCIV.

65 3. πρῶτοι δὲ κ.τ.λ. Cp. Pollux IX. 83 εἶτε Φείδων πρῶτος ὁ Ἀργεῖος ἔκοψε νόμισμα...εἶτε Λυδοί, καθά φησι Ξενοφάνης. The opinion of Herod. and Xenophanes is generally accepted as true. The earliest Lydian coins were of electrum (c. 50, l. 14) and date from the

8th century B.C. Croesus was probably the first to issue a pure gold and silver currency.

5. **κάπηλοι** 'retail-traders.' See *II.* XVIII. 291 for Lydian trade. Nic. Damasc. tells of a Lydian prince named Ardys who when driven into exile set up shop at Cumae.

9. **ἀποικίσαι**. Note the change of subject. **αὐτῶν**, see c. 9, l. 2.

12. **παύεσθαι**. For the infinitive cp. l. 22 and note on c. 24, l. 31.

14. **κύβων** 'dice,' Latin *tesserae*, numbered from 1 to 6 on their six sides. Three were used in playing.

15. **ἀστραγάλων** 'knuckle-bones.' Five were generally used (*πεντελίθοις παίζειν*), the game being to throw them up and catch them on the hand. Sometimes their long sides were marked with the numbers 1, 3, 4, 6, the two ends being left blank, and then they were used like *κύβοι* in a game of chance. **σφαίρης**, known to the Egyptians as early as 2000 B.C., as were *πεσσοί* 'draughts.' Another story was that Palamedes invented dice and draughts at Ilium, *εἰς παραμύθιον λιμοῦ κατασχόντος τὴν στρατιάν*. Eustath. p. 228, Soph. *Fr.* 380 (Dindorf). All these games except *κύβοι* are mentioned in Homer, *II.* XXIII. 88, *Od.* I. 107, VI. 100.

28. **Τυρσηγόν**. See H. G. Ind. under *Τυρσηγία*, *Τυρσηγός*, for a consideration of the legend.

31. **ἐπίπλοα**. The reading is accepted by Pollux x. 10 who 66 explains *ἃ καὶ πλέων ἄν τις ἐπικομίζοιτο, ὡς ἔγγειος καλεῖται κτῆσις ἢ λοιπή*. But the word does not occur elsewhere and its connexion with *πλέω* is unlikely. It is probably an ancient error, due to the neighbourhood of *πλοῖα*, *ἀποπλέειν*, for the common *ἐπιπλα*, c. 150, l. 8; c. 164, l. 15.

36. **ἀνήγαγε** 'took them to sea.'

38. **ὑπὸ**, properly local in sense 'under,' cp. c. 91, l. 29.

CHAPTER XCV.

3. **ἡγήσαντο**, ingressive, c. 8, l. 1.

4. **μῆ**, generalising 'the sort of people who do not,' cp. c. 64, l. 6.

7. **τριφασίας**. 'The three contradictory legends of Kyros show how soon he had become a hero of popular mythology, like Charlemagne in the middle ages,' Sayce. For other stories see Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Ctesias *Persica* ap. Phot., etc. **Ἀσσυρίων**, the Assyrians of Nineveh, c. 102, l. 10. According to the Herodotean calculation the Assyrian empire must have begun about B.C. 1230. Some years before this the

Assyrians had reduced Babylon, and in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, B.C. 1100, if not earlier, they were undoubtedly the dominant power in Western Asia. Yet in spite of Herod. they seem never to have thoroughly subjugated Media, with the exception perhaps of its western frontier, and even that did not fall into their hands until the time of Sargon, about B.C. 710 (cp. Sayce's note *ad loc.*).

CHAPTER XCVI.

- 67 6. **κατὰ κώμας**, in scattered villages without political centralisation. When Esarhaddon, B.C. 681—668, attacked the Medes 'he found them divided into a multitude of small states or rather towns, each under "a city chief."' Sayce, note *ad loc.* See *Records of the Past*, III. 118. The story of 'the despot's progress' is not of course historical but reflects the conduct of Greek aspirants to tyranny.
8. **ἐπιθέμενος**, sc. **δικαιοσύνη**, cp. c. 1, l. 11.
9. **εὐούσης...ἐπιστάμενος** 'though there was...and though he knew.'
17. **περιπίπτοντες**, generally used of evils, vi. 17, 106, hence appropriately of 'encountering unjust judgments.'
20. **ἐπετράποντο**, imperfect tense.

CHAPTER XCVII.

2. **τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος** = τῶν ἐπιφοιτεόντων, collective neuter, cp. c. 96, l. 10; c. 140, l. 3.
4. **ἀνακείμενον** 'referred to him,' cp. iii. 31 **δίκας δικάζουσι...καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνάκειται**.
5. **δικᾶν**, future infinitive, for **δικά-σ-εν**. Cp. **ἀποδοκιμᾶ**, c. 199, l. 21.
10. **σφίσι** = ἀλλήλοις. **τῶν κατηκόντων** 'what had come to them,' 'the situation.'
- 68 11. **μάλιστα** 'somewhat to this effect,' cp. κη, l. 16.
14. **ἡμέων αὐτῶν**, partitive genitive 'one of ourselves.'

CHAPTER XCVIII.

2. **πολλὸς** with **προβαλλόμενος** (passive, middle in l. 1) 'much put forward.' Cp. ix. 91 **πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος** 'was urgent in his prayers.'
15. **ἕτερον**, sc. **κύκλον**, in loose partitive apposition with **τείχεα**.
16. **τεῖχος**, the whole of which **τείχεα** are the parts.

18. τὸ μὲν...τὸ δέ, adverbial like τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δέ, c. 30, l. 20. 'On the other hand it was produced to an even greater extent by art, there being seven rings in all.' The presence of so many rings, Herod. means, can only be explained by painstaking skill cooperating with advantages of site.

22. κατὰ τὸν Ἄθ. 'corresponds in size very nearly with the circuit of Athens.' Thuc. II. 13. 7 states that the fortified part of the κύκλος τοῦ ἀστέως of Athens was 43 stades in length; the unfortified part acc. to the Scholiast was 17 stades.—a total of 60 stades or about 7 miles. If Diodorus XVII. 110 is to be taken seriously when he gives the circuit of Agbatana as 250 stades, he must be reckoning in the lower town, c. 99, l. 2. Cp. Stein's note.

27. φαρμάκοισι. The seven colours here mentioned were in ancient astrology emblematical of the sun, moon and five planets, the seven great heavenly bodies which at least helped to give the number seven its sanctity. Herodotus' description is by no means wholly fanciful. 'The great temple of Nebuchadnezzar at Borsippa (the modern Birs-i-Nimrud) was a building in seven platforms coloured in a similar way.' Rawlinson.

CHAPTER XCIX.

2. τὸν ἄλλον δῆμον, the people as distinct (ἄλλον) from himself.

6. πάντα χρᾶσθαι 'should in everything deal with him,' cp. c. 155, l. 13; c. 215, l. 5. Out of μηδένα a positive subject ἕκαστον must be supplied with χρᾶσθαι. τε, parallel to μήτε, c. 63, l. 10.

7. πρὸς τε τούτοισι κ.τ.λ. Macaulay translates 'and moreover that to laugh or spit in presence is unseemly, and this last for everyone without exception,' i.e. whether in presence of the king or not. Cp. Xen. Cyr. I. 2. 16 αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ Πέρσαις καὶ τὸ ἀποπτύειν καὶ τὸ ἀπομύττεσθαι. It is doubtful however whether καὶ ἅπασιν should not be taken together as a forcible ἅπασιν and τοῦτό γε regarded as an emphatic repetition of the two infinitives. Possibly the passage is unsound.

CHAPTER C.

6. ἑκκοσμέατο, plural after a neut. pl. subject, c. 139, l. 10; c. 146, l. 11. Stein quotes vi. 41 τέκνα ἐγένετο τὰ ἐς Πέρσας κεκοσμέαται. But even in Homer, where the plural construction is common, there are not many cases after pronouns and adjectives. Monro, *Hom. Gram.* § 172.

8. **ἐδικάλευ** 'he would punish,' iii. 29, v. 92 b. **οἱ** dative.

9. **κατάσκοποι**. Xen. Cyr. VIII. 2. 10 speaks of **τοὺς βασιλέως καλουμένους ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰ βασιλέως ὄψα**. Their duty was **ὠτακουστέϊν καὶ διοπτρεύειν τί ἂν ἀγγείλαντες ὠφελήσειαν βασιλέα**. Cp. c. 114, l. 8.

CHAPTER CI.

70 1. **συνέστρεψε μόνον** 'united the Median race alone.' For the meaning of **συνέστρεψε**, cp. c. 98, l. 11. The six tribes had hitherto formed independent communities under separate chiefs. **μόνον** anticipates and is explained by c. 102, l. 4.

CHAPTER CII.

10. **καὶ** explanatory, 'those of the Assyrians, that is, who,' cp. c. 52, l. 6. The Assyrians in Herod. include the Babylonians, see H. G. Ind.

11. **ἦρχον πρότερον πάντων**, e.g. in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, B.C. 1100, yet about B.C. 650, the date of the more or less unhistorical Phraortes, the Assyrian empire was still powerful under the enterprising Ashur-bani-pal, B.C. 668—626. Babylon, it is true, was constantly in revolt and Egypt managed to secure its independence, but notwithstanding this there was little to portend Assyria's extraordinarily rapid decline at the close of Ashur-bani-pal's reign.

13. **ἑωυτῶν εὖ ἦκοντες**, cp. c. 30, l. 23, lit. 'well off in respect of themselves,' 'internally prosperous,' **ἑωυτῶν** being opposed to **συμμάχων**.

15. **ὁ πολλός**, c. 24, l. 2 note.

CHAPTER CIII.

2. **Κυαξάρης** appears to be a genuine historical figure and the real founder of the Median empire. "From the time of Cyaxares authentic Median history may be considered to commence and from this period Herod. may be accepted as a tolerably trustworthy guide." Rawlinson.

4. **ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλα** 'banded them by regiments,' each armed in a particular way.

71 5. **χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι**, expegetical of **διέταξε**.

9. **ὅτε νῆξ κ.τ.λ.**, c. 74, l. 9. The reference to the battle with the

Lydians is parenthetical and must not be held to prove that his Lydian expedition was prior to his attack on Nineveh.

10. ἄνω 'to the east of' the river Halys, c. 130, l. 4.

15. Σκυθῶν. Herod. believes that they originally dwelt east of the Caspian but under pressure from the Massagetae marched westwards and drove out the Cimmerians from their settlements round the Sea of Azov (λίμνη Μαιῆτις, c. 104, l. 1), pursuing them across the Caucasus into Media. Cp. iv. 11, 12.

CHAPTER CIV.

2. τριήκοντα ἡμερέων. From the Cimmerian Bosphorus or entrance of the Sea of Azov to the river Phasis or *Rioni* is about 320 miles as the crow flies, not above 20 miles further than from Amisus to the Gulf of Issus, a distance which in c. 72, l. 14 Herod. describes as a journey of five days εὐζώνῳ ἄνδρι. But the passage along the west end of the Caucasus is exceedingly difficult if not altogether impracticable. See Rawlinson's note.

3. οὐ πολλὸν, sc. ἐστί, 'it is not far to cross over into Media.' It can hardly be less than 200 miles from the Phasis to the most northerly limits assignable to Media.

5. αὐτῶν, Colchians and Medes, dependent on διὰ μέσου.

6. εἶναι, loosely connected with οὐ πολλὸν 'not far to cross...and so to be in Media.' οὐ μέντοι οἳ γε Σκύθαι, implying that the Cimmerians *did* go by this route. See iv. 11 and H. G. Ind. *art.* Κιμμέριοι.

7. τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν 'turning aside along the upper road' (quasi-cognate accus.); i.e. they marched the whole length of the Caucasus and then passed south through the modern pass of *Derbend*, where the mountains sink gradually into the Caspian.

11. ἐπέσχον 'spread over,' c. 108, l. 4, viii. 32 ὁκόσα ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον. Quite apart from any invasion there was probably a considerable Scythic or Turanian element in the population of the Median empire at this period.

CHAPTER CV.

3. ἀντιόσας, probably on the Egyptian frontier at Gaza. Eusebius **72** dates the invasion of Palestine at B.C. 630.

5. οἳ δὲ κ.τ.λ. Prof. Flinders Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. III. 331,

plausibly connects this passage with ii. 157 where Psammetichus is described as besieging Ashdod for 29 years. "Foiled by him they plundered Askelon, while falling back a few miles to Ashdod; and there they maintained a front which the Egyptians attacked with frequent attempts and assaults, but did not succeed in passing for 29 years."

7. ἀσινέων, actively used, 'without doing damage.'

9. πυνθανόμενος, perhaps from the people of Ascalon. We know he went to Tyre, ii. 44. Acc. to Paus. I. 14. 7 the first people to worship the Heavenly Goddess were the Assyrians, cp. Herod. c. 131, l. 12, but her cult must be regarded as the common property of the Semitic race. See H. G. Ind. for her sanctuaries in Cyprus and Cythera, the latter being 'the most ancient of all Greek sanctuaries of Aphrodite,' who was represented there by a wooden image armed, Paus. III. 23. 1.

15. ὁ θεός 'God,' in a quasi-monotheistic sense, sex being forgotten, c. 31, l. 17 note; c. 32, l. 53; c. 210, l. 2.

16. θήλεαν νοῦσον, discussed by Hippocrates *περὶ ἀέρων* 22. *εὐνουχίαι γίνονται οἱ πλείστοι ἐν Σκύθησι καὶ γυναικῆα ἐργάζονται καὶ ὡς αἱ γυναῖκες διαλέγονται τε ὁμοίως καλεῦνται τε οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀνανδριέες.* He remarks that the disease principally attacks οἱ πλούσιοι and οἱ εὐγενέστατοι καὶ ἰσχὺν πλείστην κεκτημένοι and puts it down to horse-riding. Traces of the disease are said to be still found among the inhabitants of Southern Russia, and it was observed among French soldiers on their return from Egypt. See Rawlinson and Stein. ἅμα adds force to τε...καὶ which couple σφεας νοσέειν and ὀρᾶν.

17. καὶ ὀρᾶν κ.τ.λ. 'and (say) that visitors to the Scythian country see among them the condition of those whom the Scythians call Enareës,' lit. 'see how they are affected whom.'

19. ἐνάρεας = ἀνδρογύνους iv. 67, ἀνανδριέες Hippocr., cp. note on l. 16. Sayce compares Zend *a* privative, and *nar* 'man.'

CHAPTER CVI.

3. σφι, dat. of agent after ἀνάστατα ἦν equivalent to an aorist passive.

4. χωρὶς μὲν...χωρὶς δὲ, the first adverbial 'on the one hand,' the second prepositional, governing τοῦ φόρου. Krüger removes the awkwardness by bracketing τοῦ φόρου. φόρον 'as tribute,' predicative. The Scythian domination is referred to by Jeremiah, iv. 6 ff., v.

7. καὶ τούτων κ.τ.λ., cp. note on c. 73, l. 8.

10. **ἔλλον**, about B.C. 609, assisted by the Babylonians under **73** Nabopolassar, a revolted Assyrian general, who after the fall of Nineveh retained Babylonia as his portion and founded the New Babylonian Empire.

11. **ἑτέροισι λόγοισι**, the *Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι*, c. 184, l. 3, where see note.

14. **σὺν τοῖσι**=*σὺν τούτοισι τὰ* 'including those during which.'

CHAPTER CVII.

3. **Μανδάνην**. 'Astyages married Aryenis in B.C. 585, c. 74, l. 21, so that her daughter would be too young to be the mother of Cyrus. If Mandane is a historical person, she must be the offspring of an earlier marriage.' Stein.

7. **αὐτὰ ἕκαστα** 'the truth in detail,' the true interpretation of the dream.

9. **ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων** 'of his own standing,' c. 32, l. 4. **δίδοι**, the only right form in Herod. as if from *διδῶ*. Cp. *crit. note* on c. 93, l. 16. So *τιθεῖ*, c. 113, l. 8.

10. **ὁ δὲ**, note on c. 17, l. 9.

11. **οἰκίης ἀγαθῆς**, the Achaemenidae, at that time rulers of Persia under Median supremacy, c. 125, l. 15.

CHAPTER CVIII.

9. **οἱ τῆς ὄψιος** 'his vision,' *οἱ* possess. dative, c. 34, l. 17. **74**

15. **παραχρήση** 'deal carelessly with,' 'neglect,' with accus. also in viii. 20.

16. **παραβάλῃ** 'cast me aside.' **ἄλλους**, Cambyses and Mandane.

17. **σοι αὐτῷ**, for the uncompounded form cp. note on c. 24, l. 12. The best MSS. here have the impossible *σοὶ ἑωυτῷ*.

20. **ἀνδρὶ τῷδε**=*ἐμοί*. Wounded by Astyages' suspicions he adopts a tragic tone.

21. **δὲ**, coordinated with *ὅσπερ* for the sake of greater emphasis. So *δέ* follows *τέ*, c. 153, l. 22, ii. 126 etc. Cp. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 422. **καὶ ἐς...χρόνον** 'for the time to come also.'

22. **ἀλλ'** hardly='but,' rather 'Nay! if it is verily thy pleasure that this should so be done, 'tis right that my service at least should be duly rendered.' For this passive use of *ὑπηρετέσθαι* cp. iv. 139 *τὰ ἀπ' ἡμέων ἐς ὑμέας ἐπιτηδῶς ὑπηρετεῖται*. The cognate accus., cp. *ὑπηρετεῖν τι*, in the passive becomes the subject.

CHAPTER CIX.

2. τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, sc. a word of cognate meaning, e.g. στολήν. Cp. vii. 84 τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι, sc. σκευήν.

4. Ἀστυάγεος possess. genit., cp. iv. 12 οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων λεγόμενος λόγος εἴρηται.

75 8. οὐ οἶ, for the hiatus cp. c. 132, l. 8, a relic of the lost digamma, φοι.

10. συγγενῆς because Harpagus is related to Astyages, c. 108, l. 12.

12. ἀπαις... γόνου. For the same redundant expression of a sort very common in Greek cp. iii. 66 ἀπαιδα ἐόντα ἔρσηνος καὶ θήλεος γόνου. ἐθελήσει 'is like to,' c. 32, l. 13.

14. κτείνει 'goes about to slay,' Goodwin, *M. T.* § 32. ἄλλο τι ἦ = Latin *nonne*, explicable by an ellipse of a verb, here perhaps γίγνεται. Cp. ii. 14.

CHAPTER CX.

2. ἐπὶ... τὸν for ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν βουκόλων τὸν.

3. ἐπιτηδειοτάτας 'most suitable for the purpose,' i.e. θηριωδεστάτας.

8. σπάκα, said to be akin to Zend *spá*, Sanskrit *spá* = κύων, modern Persian *asfaka*, Russian *sabac*. The story of Spako is no doubt a rationalisation of an old legend that Cyrus was suckled by a bitch, just as Romulus and Remus were suckled by a she-wolf. Cp. c. 122, l. 15. αἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ. 'the skirts of the mountains are where.'

9. πρὸς βορέῳ ἀνέμου 'in the direction of the north wind,' cp. l. 12; c. 84, l. 18. Monro, *H.G.* § 208, denies that such genitives have any ablatival character (here e.g. 'starting from' the north), and compares them with genitives of place like τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέρου, *Il.* ix. 219 'by the other wall,' πρὸς expressing direction without the idea of motion. For the genit. cp. c. 207, l. 22 ἐλας ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος.

10. τῶν Ἀγβατάνων 'northwards from Agbatana.'

14. πᾶσα ἄπεδος, an exaggeration as a glance at a map will show. σπουδῆ πολλῆ with ἀπίκετο.

17. ὅπως ἂν διαφθαρείη 'so that he may be likely to perish,' the only instance of ὅπως ἂν with the opt. after a primary tense in Herod. It occurs 6 times in the *Odyssey*. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 329. The

opt. with ἄν in these cases clearly has a potential force. Cp. note on c. 75, l. 19.

20. σε probably subject of διαχρήσεσθαι, c. 167, l. 13. Contrast c. 24, l. 13.

CHAPTER CXI.

4. πᾶσαν ἡμέρην 'any day.' vii. 203 προσδόκιμοι πᾶσαν ἡμέρην 76 (Blaydes). κως κατὰ δαίμονα 'by a kind of providence.'

6. τοῦ τόκου, loosely dependent upon ἐν φροντίδι which is resumed by ἀρρωδέων.

12. τὸ serves first as object to ἰδεῖν and then as subject to γενέσθαι with which ὄφελε must be supplied out of ὄφελον.

16. κραυγανώμενον, the reading of the best MSS., a word otherwise unknown. Cp. βρυχανώμενον Nicand. *Alex.* 221.

23. οὐ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. 'For I should never have suspected whose child it really was.'

26. πρόκατε=εὐθύς, compounded of πρό-κα, cp. ἀντί-κα, and τε as in ἐπέτε (Stein).

CHAPTER CXII.

5. μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ 'by no means,' cp. the common πάσῃ τέχνῃ 'by 77 all means.' οὐκ ἔφη 'denied,' Latin *negavit*.

6. αὐτὰ, vaguely referring to c. 111, ll. 18 f.

8. ὡς δὲ κ.τ.λ. 'When she could not after all (ἄρα, cp. c. 111, l. 28) persuade.'

10. δὲ in the apodosis marks an *opposition* between the two members of the sentence, c. 163, l. 13; c. 191, l. 21. It often balances δέ in the protasis, *Il.* 1. 137 εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώσωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι.

15. ἡμῖν 'for ourselves,' more than a mere dative of agent.

CHAPTER CXIII.

1. κάρτα with εὖ λέγειν, c. 88, l. 2.

4. τοῦτον μὲν. Note the idiomatic repetition of μὲν, cp. ii. 174 ὅσοι μὲν...τούτων μὲν, ὅσοι δέ...τούτων δέ.

6. ἔφερε 'had been carrying,' cp. c. 66, l. 21 ἐφέροντο, c. 186, l. 12 ὤρυσσε 'had been digging.'

10. **προβοσκῶν**, a word only found here. The *προβοσκός* acc. to Schweighäuser is so called because *προάγει τὰ βοσκήματα ἐς τὴν νομήν*,— probably the true explanation, cp. *προπομπός*. ‘Under-herdsmen’ cannot be a correct translation. The word might conceivably mean a *substitute* for a herdsman, cp. *πρόμαντις*, *πρόξενος*, but this is not the same as a *subordinate* herdsman. Better than this would be to translate ‘chief cattle-men,’ cp. *πρόεδρος*.

78 17. **ἄλλο κού τι**, Agradates, Strabo 729. *κου* ‘presumably,’ implying that Herod. himself did not know it.

CHAPTER CXIV.

3. **ταύτη...αὐται**. Neither the *κώμη* nor the *βουκολία* have been directly mentioned before, but cp. *τὴν ἔπαυλι*, c. 111, l. 3 and *ὁ βουκόλος, οἱ προβοσκοί*, in c. 113. *ταύτη* might be taken as in c. 59, l. 30.

6. **ἐπίκλησιν** ‘nominally’ (Woods), c. 19, l. 4.

8. **ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος**, a confidential officer of high rank at the head of a kind of secret service. Aesch. *Pers.* 980 *τὸν σὸν πιστὸν πάντ’ ὀφθαλμὸν*, Arist. *Acharn.* 92. Cp. note on c. 100, l. 9.

9. **τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν**, i.e. to hold the office of *ἀγγελιηφόρος*, c. 120, l. 11 or *ἐσαγγελεύς*, iii. 84, whose duty was to bear messages between the king and his subjects (cp. c. 99, l. 5) and to usher visitors into the royal presence, iii. 77, 84. **ὡς ἐκάστῳ**. This common collocation is to be explained by an ellipse of a verb, here *προστάσσει*, cp. c. 29, l. 5.

10. **εἰς**, resumed in l. 13 by *αὐτόν*, object of *διαλαβεῖν*. Cp. note on c. 24, l. 19.

13. **διαλαβεῖν** properly ‘to catch hold of on both sides,’ iv. 68 *αὐτίκα δὲ διαλελαμμένος* (‘having been arrested’) *ἄγεται οὗτος*.

15. **μαστιγέων**, a unique exception to the ordinary form *μαστιγῶν*, iii. 16 etc. Cp. *ὀγκέω*, Hippocr. iv. 248 for *ὀγκῶν*. So *ρίγέω* and *ρίγῶ* exist side by side. Smyth, *Ion. Dial.* § 690.

18. **ἤντησε**, Homeric and tragic word, cp. ii. 119 *ξεινίων ἤντησε μεγάλων*.

CHAPTER CXV.

79 10. **με**. For the curious order cp. c. 1, l. 20; c. 108, l. 9 and vi. 69 *ἐν γὰρ σε τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἀναιρέομαι*.

14. **ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην** ‘got his punishment,’ but *λαμβάνειν δίκην* generally means ‘to inflict’ not ‘to suffer punishment’ = *διδόναι δίκην*.

CHAPTER CXVI.

3. προσφέρεσθαι 'to be related to,' 'to be like,' a rare passive use; the active = 'to make like,' in Pindar, *Nem.* 6. 7 προσφέρειν νόον ἀθανάτοις. ἐς ἑωυτὸν, strange constr. after a verb of likeness. ἑωυτῶ is perhaps the true reading, ἐς having come in by dittography after εδοκεε.

4. ἐλευθερωτέρη, sc. ἡ κατὰ δούλου παίδα.

7. δὴ κοτε 'at last.' ἀνενηχθεὶς 'having recovered.' Contrast c. 86, l. 18.

11. πέμπει 'dismisses,' Homeric. Cp. Hor. *Ep.* 1. 5. 8 *mitte leves spes.*

13. μῶνος μουνόθεν, modelled upon the Homeric οἰόθεν οἶος | ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι, *Il.* VII. 39 'to meet in single fight man to man.'

23. τε καὶ join two phrases in different constructions, but both dependent on κατέβαινε 'ended in prayers by bidding.' For the part. cp. c. 90, l. 16; c. 118, l. 6.

CHAPTER CXVII.

2. καὶ emphasising ἐλάσσω. So καὶ μεγάλως below.

11—13. ποιήσω...εἶην. For the change of mood cp. c. 53, l. 3. θυγατρὶ τῇ σῆ 'in the sight of thy daughter.'

15. φὰς σέ τε εἶναι. The construction is interrupted by the parenthetical καὶ λέγων...οὔτω with the result that there is no clause to balance σέ τε...αὐτό, e.g., as Stein suggests comparing c. 110, l. 18, a statement that Astyages would slay him unless he carried out his orders. τε is not wanted to couple φὰς and λέγων, even did the order of words permit it. (Abicht compares νῦν ἔφη τε, c. 125, l. 7, a false reading of the Aldine edition. The mss. give νῦν τε ἔφη.)

17. κατὰ τάδε, ἐντειλάμενος, lit. 'in the following manner, namely with instructions.'

19. ἄχρι οὔ, only here in Herod. For subj. without ἄν cp. 81 Goodwin, *M. T.* § 620.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

2. τὸν οἱ ἐνεῖχε 'which he entertained against him,' cp. vi. 119.

5. ἐπαλλλόγητο, impersonal, pluperf. pass., without reduplication, 'to avoid a cumbersome form.' Smyth, *Ion. Dial.* § 583.

7. ἔφη λέγων 'in his speech he said,' λέγων referring to the whole speech, ἔφη introducing the verbatim quotation. The words are not really pleonastic. Cp. c. 125, l. 8.

12. σῶστρα. Cp. iv. 9 where it means 'a payment for saving.' In late Greek it is used of a physician's fee.

CHAPTER CXIX.

3. ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνει 'had turned out opportunely,' c. 186, l. 28. ἐπὶ τύχησι χρηστήησι 'under such happy auspices.'

82 11. εὐτυχτα κ.τ.λ. 'and when he had had them dressed kept them ready.'

15. παρετιθέατο, -έατο properly a pluperf. ending, but in Herod. sometimes introduced into the imperfect, ἐπανιστέατο iv. 80, ἐδυνέατο vii. 211. Cp. the perfect ending -αται in προτιθέαται, c. 133, l. 5. Smyth, *Ion. Dial.* § 585. μηλείων. Herod. elsewhere prefers forms in -εος, αἴγεος, βόεος, ὄεος, but there is no need to alter to μηλέων with Bredow.

17. ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν 'hands and feet.' χεῖρ and ποῦς in Homer often mean 'arm' and 'leg.' Cp. also ii. 121 ε ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ τὴν χεῖρα.

22. τοῖσι προσέκειτο 'those who were charged therewith.'

27. οὔτε...τε, c. 59, l. 35. ἐντός τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεταί 'contains himself,' cp. vii. 47.

30. βασιλεύς. Note the absence of the article. βασιλεύς without art. became technical in the sense of the king of Persia, called βασιλεύς ὁ μέγας, c. 188, l. 4; c. 192, l. 3.

CHAPTER CXX.

3. ταύτη, referring back to c. 108, l. 10.

4. τῇ relative for interrogative, l. 23; c. 56, l. 5; 'as to the way in which they had interpreted.'

83 5. χρῆν 'the child must have become king, had he survived.' The Magi imply that he was already dead. For the omission of ἄν with χρῆν see Goodwin, *M. T.* § 419.

7. περίεστι 'survives,' repeating and emphasising ἔστι.

15. τούτου masculine, 'concerning him.'

16. **παρὰ σμικρὰ**, lit. 'compared to small things.' Cp. Soph. *O. T.* 982 ταῦτα...παρ' οὐδέν ἐστι. **καί** emphatic, 'for some even of our oracles have had comparatively trifling results and anything at least connected with dreams comes to an altogether feeble issue.'

20. **πλείστος**, cp. **πολλός**, c. 98, l. 2, lit. 'I am most this way in mind.'

22. **ὅμως μὲν γέ τοι**, exceptional order for **ὅμως γε μέντοι**. Herod. is fond of **μὲν γε**, and **μὲν τοι** in Homer at least are not closely connected.

27. **κείνως** 'in the other case,' i.e. if thy kingdom is not established.

31. **πολιήτῳ** 'fellow-countryman.' **ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος** 'we have our proper share of rule.'

36. **ἕτερα τοιαῦτα**, i.e. **θαρσέειν**.

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CHAPTER CXXI.

3. **οὐ τελέην** 'which had no fulfilment.'

6. **ἐκεῖ** with **ἐλθών**. So we say 'there' for 'thither.' **οὐ κατὰ** 'not after the sort of,' cp. c. 98, l. 22.

CHAPTER CXXII.

4. **ἐπιστάμενοι** 'feeling sure,' cp. l. 8; c. 3, l. 4 with note.

9. **ἀπὸ** temporal, 'since.'

11. **ἦε...αἰνέων** 'went on praising.' For a like use with fut. part. cp. c. 5, l. 11.

12. **τὰ πάντα** 'the sum total of his tale.' Note the article and contrast iii. 157 **πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος**, 'Z. was everything among the B.'

14. **θειότερος**, cp. **ἰσχυροτέρως** iii. 129, **εὐπετεστέρως** iii. 143, but **θειότερον**, c. 174, l. 18.

15. **κατέβαλον φάτιν** 'they sowed a report.' **ὡς κύων...ἐξέθρῃψε**, probably the original form of the legend, cp. note on c. 110, l. 8. Herodotus' rationalism reverses the truth. For the Persian respect for the dog see c. 140, l. 11.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

6. **ἐπιτρεφόμενον** 'growing up as Astyages' successor,' cp. ii. 121 a. **85** **ἔποιέετο** conative imperfect, cp. l. 10.

7. **ὁμοιούμενος**. Both had been badly treated by Ast. and both harboured feelings of revenge, cp. c. 124, ll. 9—12.

12. **τούτου**, taking up **τάδε**, l. 7.

15. **φυλασσομένων**. Cp. the *φυλακτήρια* and *πύλαι* on the Persian Royal Road from Susa to Sardis, v. 52. **ὁ δὲ**, c. 17, l. 9.

17. **ὡς δὲ εἶχε** emphasising *οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας*, 'without plucking off any of its hair, but as it was.'

20. **ἄτε** in the sense of *ὡς* 'as,' c. 200, l. 6.

21. **ἀπὸ γλώσσης** with *ἐπειπεῖν*.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

4. **ἐπελέγετο** 'he read it,' an easy transition from the meaning 'ponder over,' c. 78, l. 1.

5. **σὲ γὰρ**, a reason why Cyrus should take vengeance, resumed by *νυν*, l. 6. **οὐ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.** 'for otherwise thou wouldst never, etc.'

86 7. **φονέα**. See note on c. 45, l. 17.

8. **τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεούς** adverbial accus., 'so far as concerns the gods,' 'thanks to the gods.'

17. **ἔστι**, vivid present instead of future, Goodwin, *M. T.* § 32.

19. **πρὸς σέο** 'on thy side,' c. 75, l. 6.

CHAPTER CXXV.

9. **Κῦρος μὲν**. The antithesis comes at c. 126, l. 1. For the little that is known of the Persian tribes see H. G. Ind. Some of them are not Persians, i.e. Aryans, at all but conquered aboriginals.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

87 2. **τὸ προειρημένον**, the *δρέπανον* of c. 125, l. 9.

4. **ὅσον τε ἐπὶ**, lit. 'as far as to.' For *τε* cp. *οἶός τε, ἐπειτε*. **πάντη**, c. 181, l. 7 'extending about 18 or 20 furlongs each way.'

5. **ἐξημερῶσαι** 'to clear.' For the metaphor 'taming the ground' cp. Verg. *Georg.* II. 239 *nec mansuescit (tellus) arando*.

10. **ἔθνε** 'slaughtered' rather than 'sacrificed,' cp. c. 216, l. 9. In early times the slaughter of a domesticated animal was always accompanied by sacrificial rites and the dedication of some portion of its flesh to a god. But the evanescence of the sacrificial idea would naturally react upon the meaning of the word.

11. **ὡς δεξόμενος**, cp. iv. 26 *τοῦ δεκομένου* = the host. The word must be supplied with *οἶνω τε καὶ σιτίοισι*.

14. ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν 'had finished dinner,' cp. c. 50, l. 8.
 17. τὸ μέσον 'the difference,' ix. 82. ἡμέρην, subject of ἔχειν.
 21. ἐμέο. Cp. c. 59, l. 14 for the genitive.
 28. ἐχόντων. Cp. the impersonal οὕτω ἔχει, l. 20.

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CHAPTER CXXVII.

2. καὶ πάλαι, to be joined, cp. c. 71, l. 7; c. 117, l. 3.
 6. ἦξοι, the first occurrence of the future optative in Greek prose. The earliest verse instance is in Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 126. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 129.
 9. θεοβλαβῆς, i.e. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βλαβεῖς τὴν φρένα. λήθην ποιούμενος 'forgetting.' Cp. for the periphrasis c. 68, l. 9; c. 160, l. 17.
 12. ὅσοι κ.τ.λ. 'those who had not participated in the plot,' c. 123, l. 9 f.

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

6. ἀνεσκολόπισε 'impaled,' a form of punishment frequently depicted on Assyrian sculptures. The victim generally hangs suspended with the stake through his chest.
 10. ἐζωγρήθη. The inscription of Cyrus gives a somewhat different account. Astyages marched against Cyrus, king of Ansan, but his soldiers revolted against him, took him prisoner and handed him over to Cyrus. Cyrus then plundered the royal city of Agamtanu (Agbatana) and carried the spoils to Ansan. See Sayce on c. 123.

CHAPTER CXXIX.

3. θυμαλγία, an echo of the Homeric phrase ἡ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος 89 θυμαλγῆς εἶπες, *Od.* xvi. 69, xxiii. 183.
 4. εἶρετο for εἰρόμενος, c. 85, l. 6, 'asked him with reference to the dinner given to himself (Harpagus), in which he feasted him on the flesh of his son, how it felt to be a slave instead of a king.' Cp. vi. 67. Harpagus implies that Astyages' fall was the consequence of the fatal dinner. τό μιν...ἐθόλινσε. Note the combination of cognate and transitive accusatives. ἐγὼ πολλά καὶ ἡδέα εὐώχουν ὑμᾶς, *Plat. Gorgias* 522 A (Abicht).
 8. αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι 'that as he had written the letter,' c. 123, l. 18.

10. ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ lit. 'tried to show by his reasoning,'
cp. v. 84, 94.
11. εἰ not really conditional, 'most wrongheaded in that...'
12. παρεόν accus. absol. αὐτῷ βασιλεία, c. 3, l. 6. The following
clause goes closely with παρεόν, 'when it was in his power...as it actually
was, if the present state of affairs had been effected by his own agency.'
15. δεῖν. Cp. note on c. 24, l. 31. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 755.
16. δικαιότερον εἶναι. Cp. c. 120, l. 5 for omission of εἶναι.

CHAPTER CXXX.

6. παρέξ ἢ κ.τ.λ. 'except during the time when the Scythians held
rule,' i.e. 28 years, c. 106, l. 1. The Medes therefore were actually
supreme for 100 years. Acc. to the present passage the Median
ascendancy in Western Asia must have started in B.C. (559 + 128 =) 687,
the 22nd year of Deioces' reign (B.C. 709—656). But in c. 102, l. 5 we
read that Deioces' successor, Phraortes, was the first king to extend the
Median empire over other nations than the Medes themselves. The
two statements appear to be irreconcilable. Media probably became a
great conquering power under Cyaxares about B.C. 630. Cp. note on
c. 103, l. 2.

90 8. ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου. The revolt of the Medes about
B.C. 520 at the beginning of the reign of Darius is meant. It is
described in detail in the famous trilingual inscription on the rock
of Behistan.

"Says Darius the king—a man named Phraortes a Mede, he rose
up. To the state of Media thus he said: 'I am Xathrites of the race
of Cyaxares.' Then the Median troops who were at home (?) revolted
from me. They went over to that Phraortes: he became king of
Media." Darius despatches troops with instructions to 'go forth and
smite that Median state which does not acknowledge me.' They defeat
the Medes together with the Armenians who had joined in the rebellion.
Darius then takes the field in person and inflicts a decisive blow on the
enemy at Kudrusia. Phraortes fled but was shortly afterwards captured
and brought before Darius, who cut off his nose, ears and tongue. "He
was kept chained at my door; all the kingdom beheld him. Afterwards
I crucified him at Agbatana. And the men who were his followers
I slew within the citadel at Agbatana." Sir H. Rawlinson's Translation.

15. ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης, c. 76, l. 8.

17. πάσης, somewhat hyperbolic. Cyrus had still to conquer
the Phoenicians, c. 143, l. 4, Babylonians and Bactrians, c. 153, l. 20.
Stein.

CHAPTER CXXXI.

2. οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους 'not holding it lawful.' Herodotus' statement is too wide. 'The temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, I rebuilt,' says Darius on the Behistan inscription.

4. ἐπιφέρουσι instead of ἐπιφέροντας. δοκέειν, Goodwin, *M. T.* § 778. μέν emphasises the possibility of a different view.

5. ἀνθρωποφύεας 'having the nature of men.' So the Egyptians ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι, ii. 141. ἐνόμισαν 'adopted the belief,' ingressive.

6. οἱ δὲ, c. 17, l. 9. Δι. The supreme god of Zoroastrianism is Ahura-mazda or Ormazd, the creator and upholder of the universe, the author of all goodness, purity and truth, the source of light both spiritual and physical. Cp. Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies* III. 324—5.

8. τὸν κύκλον κ.τ.λ., hardly applicable to Ahura-mazda, who is a spirit upholding the heavens rather than the heavens themselves.

9. θύουσι δὲ κ.τ.λ. The Zend-Avesta or sacred book of the Zoroastrians contains frequent invocations of moon, earth, stars and winds, but does not inculcate sacrifice to them, nor are such sacrifices mentioned on the monuments. The indiscriminate nature worship here described is, it would seem, not properly Persian but part of the religion of the Magi, who originally at least were not priests of Zoroastrianism but of some earlier indigenous cult based largely on magical and ritual observances, which in course of time they managed to graft upon the purer and more spiritual religion of Ahura-mazda. See J. H. Moulton in *Hastings' Dict. of Bible*, III. 989.

14. Μίτραν, a manifest error. See H. G. Ind. Her Persian name was Anahita, Greek 'Αναΐτις.

CHAPTER CXXXII.

1. θυσίῃ 'method of sacrifice,' iv. 60.

3. οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, i.e. on altars. Contact with a victim would contaminate the holy fire. Cp. note on c. 86, l. 8.

4. οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται. For asyndeton cp. c. 138, l. 12. This statement is difficult to reconcile with the well-known Haoma libations which formed so important a part of Persian ceremonial. Contrast too vii. 54 σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. οὐκ ἀλύψ, another inaccuracy. These variations from the

ritual of the Avesta are sometimes regarded as belonging to Magism (cp. note on c. 131, l. 9), but if Magism was a primitive nature-worship, we should hardly expect such simplicity of ceremonial.

91 5. οὐ στέμμασι, i.e. not στέμματα in the special Greek sense of woollen chaplets. Cp. l. 7. οὐλήσι, barley-corns used in offering sacrifice. Cp. note on c. 160, l. 16. τῶν, referring back to τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοῦς, l. 2.

6. θέλη. Note the change to the singular, c. 195, l. 3. For the absence of ἄν cp. c. 216, l. 4; iv. 46, 172. In Homer κε or ἄν is regularly omitted in relative conditions with the subjunctive. καθαρὸν 'ceremonially clean.'

7. ἔστεφανωμένος κ.τ.λ. 'his tiara wreathed generally with myrtle.' The tiara was a high-crowned hat of felt or cloth.

14. ἔθηκε. For a similar gnomic aorist in apodosis cp. Theophr. ap. Porphr. *de Abst.* II. 30 ὅταν πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἀχθῶσι κατεπόντωσαν τὴν μάχαιραν. See also Goodwin, *M. T.* § 155. ὧν 'he then places.' For its position cp. c. 194, l. 22.

15. θεογονίην. Hymns invoking the gods under their various titles and attributes are frequent in the Avesta.

16. οἶν δὴ κ.τ.λ. 'for this, say they, is the nature of the incantation.' Herod. omits to mention the characteristic barsom or bundle of twigs (the 'branch' of Ezek. viii. 17) which the Magi used in their incantations at the πυραιθεῖα or fire-altars (Strabo xv. p. 733).

19. καὶ χρᾶται κ.τ.λ. 'and disposes of them as the notion takes him.' Cp. vii. 41 ὅκως μιν λόγος αἰρέει. Note that λόγος is *any* notion, fancy, motive, and contrast ii. 33 ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἰρέει where ὁ λόγος is 'reason' in the abstract or 'the rational view of the matter.'

CHAPTER CXXXIII.

3. τῶν ἄλλων, short for ἢ ἐν τῆσι ἄλλῃσι.

6. τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων 'the smaller kinds of cattle,' sheep and goats.

7. σίτοισι 'staple dishes.' ἐπιφορήμασι 'supplementary dishes' or 'dessert.' Cp. Xen. *Mem.* III. 14. 3 where ὀψοφάγος is defined as ὁ μικρῶ σίτῳ πολὺ ὄψον ἐπεσθίων.

8. καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσει 'and not all served up together.' Cp. c. 196, l. 8. The word is confined to Ionic. Cp. ἀλίη c. 125, l. 5.

12. οἴνῳ. They had degenerated since the time of Cyrus, c. 71, l. 13.

17. ἐν τοῦ, sc. οἴκῳ. Cp. note on c. 35, l. 19.

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20. ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι 'they debate again.' The Germans are credited by Tacitus, *Germ.* 22, with a similar method of deciding questions of peace and war.

CHAPTER CXXXIV.

1. ἐντυγχάνοντες, anticipating οἱ συντυγχάνοντες. For the slight variation of word cp. c. 133, ll. 10, 11; c. 164, ll. 14, 17.

6. προσκυνέει. The oriental προσκύνησις or salaam consisted in prostrating oneself before the worshipful person and kissing his foot or the ground.

7. ἐκ πάντων 'most of all,' viii. 83.

8. μετὰ δὲ κ.τ.λ., lit. 'and after, as they go forward (from Persia), they feel esteem in proportion.'

12. [τῷ λεγομένῳ], possibly a corruption of τὸν λεγόμενον (Abresch), 'acc. to the proportion stated,' l. 9.

14. ἐπὶ δὲ κ.τ.λ. 'And during the empire of the Medes the nations actually (καὶ) ruled over one another (according to the above rule), the Medes being lords of all collectively and especially of those which dwelt nearest themselves, and these too ruling over those upon their own borders, and these again over the adjoining nations.'

17. μάλα 'again,' cp. c. 181, l. 11, iv. 68 ἄλλοι πάρεισι μάντιες καὶ μάλα ἄλλοι. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ. Stein formerly read δὴ putting only a comma after ἐχομένων and taking the words with ἦρχε, 'ruled...on the same principle as that whereby the Persians show honour.' Unless we adopt this remedy, the clause must be treated as purely parenthetical. For τὸ ἔθνος which follows refers not to its natural antecedent οἱ Πέρσαι, but to the Medes of l. 15.

18. προέβαινε κ.τ.λ. 'for so the nation extended its government and suzerainty,' ἐπιτροπεύον implying a less direct and personal control than ἀρχον.

CHAPTER CXXXV.

3. τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθήτα, c. 71, l. 10.

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The original costume of the Persians was a long-sleeved, closely-fitting, tunic of leather, reaching to the knee and confined round the waist by a belt; a pair of moderately tight leather trousers, a loose felt

cap and a pair of shoes tied in front with a string (Rawl. *Anc. Mon.* III. 233). In the time of Cyrus (Xen. *Cyr.* VIII. 1. 40) this simple dress was exchanged by the Court and wealthier classes of Persia for the more graceful and elaborate Median garb, the principal feature of which was the long flowing *στολή Μηδική*. "This garment fits the chest and shoulders closely, but falls over the arms in two large loose sleeves, open at the bottom. At the waist it is confined by a cincture. Below it is remarkably full and ample, drooping in two clusters of perpendicular folds at the two sides and between them hanging like a curtain. It extends down to the ankles, where it is met by a high shoe or low boot, opening in front and secured by buttons" (*op. cit.* II. 315). The Median robe was often dyed in brilliant colours, crimson, scarlet or purple.

5. **τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας**, made of quilted linen, *θώρηκα λίνεον* ii. 182, iii. 47. The Egyptian monuments seem to show soldiers' coats of thickly wadded material, only rarely covered with metal plates (Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, p. 545). The Persians also wore coats of scale armour, vii. 61, ix. 22.

CHAPTER CXXXVI.

1. **ἀποδέδεκται** 'is represented as' (*ἀποδείκνυμι*).

2. **μάχεσθαι**, expegetic of *ἀγαθόν* 'good at fighting.' *ὅς ἂν*, explaining *αὐτή* by a common anacoluthon. Cp. *Od.* xv. 72 *ἴσόν τοι κακὸν ἐσθ' ὅς τ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι | ξείνον ἐποτρύνει καὶ δὲ ἐσσύμενον κατερύκει*.

4. **τὸ πολλὸν δ'** 'for numbers they think are strength.' *δέ* is explanatory, = *γάρ*.

6. **ἀπὸ πενταέτεος**, sc. *παιδός*.

11. **ἄσῃν** 'distress,' properly 'nausea' (*ἄω*=satiare) as in Plat. *Tim.* 71 C *λύπας καὶ ἄσας παρέχοι*.

CHAPTER CXXXVII.

1. **τόνδε**, contrary to custom referring to what precedes. Cp. c. 141, l. 18; c. 210, l. 2; c. 214, l. 24.

4. **μηδένα**, to be taken with *Περσέων* as subject of *ἔρδειν*. *οἰκετέων* partitive genit. 'to any of his servants,' sc. *τινά γον*, by *ἔρδειν*. **ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν**, hardly a logical phrase. We should expect *ἂν κακὸν ἔρδειν*, but the *πάθος*, which results from the infliction of a *κακόν*, here takes the place of the *κακόν* itself. The 'irremediable suffering,' cp. vi. 12, is death or mutilation. For a practical application of the principle see vii. 194.

8. ὀκόσα, sc. τέκνα.
9. τοιαῦτα parricides or matricides. πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην, sc. εἶναι.

CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

2. αἰσχιστον...τὸ ψεύδεσθαι, a statement borne out by the cunei- 94
form inscriptions and the Avesta. On the rock of Behistan Darius says, col. 1, § 10, 'When Cambyses had proceeded to Egypt, then the state became wicked, then *the lie* became abounding in the land.' Col. 4, § 5 'That thou mayest be king hereafter, keep thyself utterly from lies. The man who may be a liar, him destroy utterly.' In the Avesta Ahura-mazda is 'the true,' 'the essence of truth,' 'the father of truth.' One of his angels or emanations is Asha 'The True.' An instance of Xerxes' fidelity to a rash promise is given in ix. 109.

6. ὅς ἄν δέ, unusual order, cp. vii. 8 *ad fin.*

8. ἀμαρτόντα τι. So Jehovah smote Miriam with leprosy for sin against him, Numb. xii. 10. For the isolation of the leper by the Jews see Levit. xiii. 46.

10. ὑπὸ τούτων, sc. λέπρης καὶ λεύκης, neuter, cp. ταῦτα, l. 9. πολλοί, implying that the practice was not universal in Persia.

11. τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. The colour of the doves apparently suggested leprosy.

13. περιορώσι, sc. ταῦτα ποιεύντα.

CHAPTER CXXXIX.

3. οὐνόματα, their personal names. ὅμοια 'corresponding to,' 'descriptive of.' Herodotus' statement is too wide. *s* or *sh*, the original masc. nominative ending, was only kept after *i* or *u*, cp. *Kurush* (Κῦρος), Fravartish (Φραβάρτης), and dropped after *ā*, cp. Artakhshatrā ('Αρταξέρεξης). In transliterating masculine proper names the Greeks habitually added *s*, whether justifiable or not. Feminine names in Persian do not end in *-s*.

4. τελευτώσι. For the plural cp. c. 100, l. 6.

5. σάν. The earliest Greek alphabets had two sibilants M σάν, Semitic *shin*, = *sh* which came after N, and X σίγμα, Semitic *samech*, = *s*, which came after P. The symbol M was in time dropped in order to avoid confusion with M, and its place in the alphabet was taken by Ξ . The remaining sibilant was generally called σίγμα, though the Dorians retained the other name σάν.

CHAPTER CXL.

95 3. τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, probably collective neuter, c. 97, l. 2. Owing to the sacredness of earth and fire there were difficulties in the way of burying or burning a corpse. The Magi therefore exposed their dead to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey, cp. Strabo xv. 735 τοὺς δὲ Μάγους οὐ θάπτουσιν ἀλλ' οἰωνοβρώτους ἐῶσι, and it would seem buried only the bones. The practice still obtains among the Parsees who deposit their dead upon the so-called 'Towers of Silence' and leave them to be stripped of their flesh by crows and vultures. For the ritual importance of the dog compare the custom of *sag-did* 'glance of a dog,' practised by the Zoroastrians of Yezd. "This ancient rite which dates back to the period of the Avesta consists in making a dog look at the dead body, since its gaze is believed to have a peculiar efficacy for driving away the *nasu* or spirit of defilement...Morsels of bread are strewn around the corpse or...laid on the bosom of the dead, and the dog eats these." A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia*, 388—9.

5. μάγους μὲν, c. 131, l. 4. μὲν indicates that Herod. only guarantees the practice in the case of the Magians. Ll. 5, 6 are parenthetical.

7. δὲ ὦν 'however that may be.' δὴ ὦν MSS., but no conclusion is drawn.

12. καὶ ἀγώνισμα...ποιεῦνται 'indeed they make a great feat of it.' The Avesta exhorts men to slay all noisome beasts, the creatures of the evil spirit Ahriman, but to protect horses, dogs, cattle and hares, the creatures of Ormazd.

14. ἀμφὶ with dat. = περὶ with genit., an antique and poetical use, occurring some half a dozen times in Herod., cp. vi. 62. For a similar way of dismissing a subject cp. ii. 28 ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἔστω ὡς ἔστι τε καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο.

16. τὸν πρότερον λόγον, i.e. the point reached at c. 94, l. 38.

CHAPTER CXLI.

5. λόγον 'a story.' Cp. Plato, *Phaedo*, 60 D τοὺς τοῦ Αἰσώπου λόγους. So Herod. ii. 134 calls Aesop a λογοποιός. The fable was well known under the title ἀλιεὺς αὐλῶν.

96 8. ψευσθήναι, cp. c. 24, l. 31 for the infinitive.

16. κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων 'when the thing was done,' c. 123, ll. 8, 11, v. 23.

21. πρὸς μούνοὺς κ.τ.λ. "Prudence, it is probable, rather than clemency, dictated this course, since to detach from the Grecian cause the most powerful of the states was the readiest way of weakening the resistance they would be able to make. Miletus singly had defied the arms of four successive Lydian kings and had only succumbed at last to the efforts of the fifth, Croesus." Rawl. *Anc. Mon.* III. 378. Croesus required the Greek cities to pay tribute but otherwise hardly interfered with them.

22. ὁ Δυδός, c. 17, l. 14.

CHAPTER CXLII.

2. τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ κ.τ.λ. 'under fairer skies and in a finer climate than any men we know.' For ὥραι 'seasons,' in the general sense of climate cp. c. 149, l. 8 and iii. 106 ἢ Ἑλλάς τὰς ὥρας πολλὸν τι κάλλιστα κεκρημέναις ἔλαχε.

4. τὰ ἄνω...τὰ κάτω, the districts north and south, c. 72, l. 8 ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον.

5. τῶντὸ ποιέει 'give the same results.' The bracketed words οὔτε...ἔσπέρην look like an interpolation, as the following description does not apply to the countries east and west of Ionia.

9. νεινομίκασι 'have adopted,' i.e. 'use,' iv. 183. Cp. c. 131, l. 5. τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων 'four different variations.'

16. οὐδέν must be an exaggeration. Stein suggests that Herod. 97 who is not careful to conceal his spite against the Ionians (cc. 146, 147) wishes to show that their boasted purity and identity of descent is not supported by the evidence of language.

21. ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν 'by themselves,' c. 143, l. 15. The usage occurs once in Homer, *Il.* VII. 195 εὔχεσθε...σιγῇ ἐφ' ὑμείων.

The evidence of inscriptions is too scanty to provide independent verification of Herodotus' fourfold classification. It might have been expected that the Ionic of Ephesus, Colophon etc. would be contaminated by Lydian, that of Miletus, Priene etc. by Carian words; that the Ionic of Chios and Erythrae would contain Aeolisms and that of Samos would be pure Ionian (Smyth, *Ionic Dialect*, p. 24). But "in the case of Chios only we have found that there is a stratum of Aeolic forms of sufficient authority to warrant our setting apart Chian Ionic as provided with the requisites of subdialectal differentiation. Erythraean Ionic...presents too little Aeolic colouring to admit of being classed in the same category as Chian" (p. 23). Still even supposing that the vocabulary and spelling of the four sub-dialects were practically identical, there might be very considerable differences of sound and pronunciation, so that there is no reason for distrusting Herodotus' statement.

CHAPTER CXLIII.

2. ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου 'sheltered from the danger.' φόβος here = the object of fear.

5. ἀπεσχίσθησαν...οὔτοι. The Asiatic Ionians (οὔτοι, cp. l. 1) 'split away from' their Ionian kinsmen in Attica and the islands.

6. κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν...δὲ 'for no other reason but.' Cp. ix. 109 κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, φοβερόμενος δὲ Ἀμυστριν. Here however, if we adopt Stein's δῆ for δέ, l. 7, the main reason is given by an independent clause, ἀσθενέος...γένεος being genitive absolute.

9. οὐδέν...λόγιμον, hardly fair to such a city as Miletus. The poor reputation of the Ionians as contrasted with their splendour in the 7th cent. B.C. (cp. Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo) must have been largely due to their conquest by Lydia. Cleisthenes ὑπεριδὼν Ἴωνας changed the name and number of the old Athenian tribes ἵνα μὴ σφίσι αἱ αὐταὶ ἔωσι φυλαὶ καὶ Ἴωσι, v. 69. In Thucydides' day the Ionians were accounted inferior to Dorians, Thuc. I. 124, v. 9, VIII. 25.

17. οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ. δὲ is the connecting particle, οὐδὲ = 'not even.' For the Smyrnaeans see c. 150.

CHAPTER CXLIV.

98 4. ὧν resumptive, c. 69, l. 9. τῶν προσοίκων Δ., e.g. the inhabitants of the islands of Astypalaea, Calydna, Nisyros, Syme, Telos, Carpathos, Casos, and of Myndos, Iasos and Phaselis on the mainland.

7. ἐτίθεισαν 'used to propose as prizes.' II. XXIII. 656 τῷ δ' ἄρα νικηθέντι τίθει δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον.

15. ἐξεκλήρισαν τῆς μετοχῆς, sc. τοῦ ἱροῦ, l. 6. This involved entire exclusion from the confederacy.

CHAPTER CXLV.

6. μὲν γε in enumerations, c. 129, l. 11. πρὸς, c. 84, l. 18. The towns are given in their order from east to west.

7. τῆ, sc. πόλι latent in Αἰγαί. ἀπ' ὅτε, c. 7, l. 9. Herodotus' residence at Thurii accounts for his mention of the Italian Crathis.

CHAPTER CXLVI.

3. ἐπεὶ 'for.' Purity of race, Herod. means, is not the explanation 99 of the exclusive Ionian confederacy in Asia. Dahlmann supposes that these polemical remarks are directed against the pretensions of the Milesian historian Hecataeus (cp. Bähr note *ad loc.* and Grote's Hist. Part II. c. 13).

4. Ἴωνες predicate. κάλλιον τι γεγόνασι 'have any nobler origin.'

6. Ἴωνίης dependent on τοῦ οὐνόματος.

8. σφι. Note the transition from relative to demonstrative. Minyans settled in Teos, Cadmeans in Priene (also called Cadme), Colophon, Teos and Miletus (c. 170, l. 15 n.), Phocians in Phocaea. See also H. G. Ind.

10. ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα, Lycians, Carians, Pamphylians, Cretans (cp. Paus. VII. 3), Lydians, Leleges, etc.

11. ἀναμεμίχεται, note plural verb after neut. pl. subst. c. 100, l. 6. **πρυτανήλιου.** The Presidents' Hall in a Greek city was the centre of its corporate life. Exclusion from it seems to have been a kind of 'civil excommunication' (Herod. vii. 197). As the ἐστία πόλεως it contained the public altar and the sacred fire which perpetually burnt thereon, thus enshrining, so to speak, the life of the state. A portion of this sacred fire was taken by colonists to their new homes in foreign lands. Cp. Arnold *ad* Thuc. II. 15 and Smith's Dict. Ant. *art.* colonia. Those who started from the πρυτανεῖον of Athens would of course be genuine Athenian citizens.

13. δέ. For δέ with a repeated subject cp. c. 196, l. 16.

16. σφίσι...ἐπήλασαν 'laid strong oaths upon themselves,' cp. vi. 62.

19. ἔωντῆς. Note the abrupt change of number, as though μηδεμίαν had preceded, c. 132, l. 6. Frazer on Paus. VII. 2. 6, quoting Lafitan, says "The wives of the Caribs never eat with their husbands; they never name them by their name;...and they have a language quite different from that of their husbands, just as the Carian women probably had."

20. ἔπειτε, Ionic form of ἐπειτα, attested by inscriptions. Smyth, *Ion. Dial.* p. 608.

CHAPTER CXLVII.

3. Καύκωνας Πυλλούς. The association of the Caucones of Triphylia with Pylos, the home of the Neleids, is difficult to explain.

Od. III. 366 is evidence that Pylos did not lie in the territory of the Caucones (Stein). Cp. H. G. Ind. *art.* Πύλιοι for Strabo's opinion. Melanthus migrated to Athens and his grandsons, Neileus and Androclus, founded Miletus and Ephesus.

5. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται equivalent to ἀλλὰ, περιέχονται γὰρ..., cp. Eurip. *Phoen.* 1307. Contrast c. 15, l. 4.

100 7. εἰσι δὲ... 'Still the fact remains that all are Ionians who...'

CHAPTER CXLVIII.

2. ἔξαιρημένος 'dedicated,' Ionic perf. pass. part. of ἐξαιρέω, cp. ii. 168.

5. κατήκουσα Σάμῳ 'running down (into the sea, cp. vii. 22) by Samos.' Σάμῳ a somewhat curious local dative, cp. Hom. *Il.* v. 709 λιμνη κεκλιμένος 'lying beside the lake.'

7. πεπόνθασι κ.τ.λ. The names of Greek festivals all end in -α, just as Persian words acc. to Herod. all end in -ς, c. 139. There is no good reason for bracketing the sentence as an interpolation, with Stein.

CHAPTER CXLIX.

3. Αἰγυρόεσσα, the town of the black poplars (αἴγειρος), otherwise unknown. As Herod. omits Elaea, an important city near the mouth of the Caicus, it has been conjectured that Αἰγυρόεσσα was an old name of that town (cp. Rawlinson).

5. σφεων dependent on παρελύθη.

6. καὶ αὐταί, like the Ionic cities.

8. μὲν misplaced, c. 202, l. 4. It properly goes with ἀμείνω.

CHAPTER CL.

101 3. ὑπεδέξαντο, sc. οἱ Σμυρναῖοι.

8. τῶν Ἰώνων. The Colophonians were Ionians, c. 142, l. 14. In reference to this act of treachery, of a kind not uncommon among Greeks, cp. vi. 23, Mimnermus the Colophonian poet sings θεῶν βουλῇ Σμύρνην εἴλομεν Αἰολίδα.

9. ἐπιδιείλοντο 'distributed them amongst themselves.'

10. σφεας, sc. τοὺς Σμυρναίους. Note the genit. absol. followed by an accus. referring to the same people, cp. c. 3, ll. 8, 10.

CHAPTER CLI.

2. Ἴδη, i.e. the Troad, the cities of which were colonised chiefly from Lesbos.

3. κερωρίδαται 'are distinct.' αἱ δὲ...ἔχουσαι, taken up by πέντε μὲν...μία...ἄλλη μία. The five cities of Lesbos were Mytilene, Methymna, Antissa, Eresos, Pyrrha.

6. ἔοντας ὁμαίμους, the people in appos. with the place.

CHAPTER CLII.

5. πορφύρεον. Pythermus' object was to create a sensation. 102 Purple robes were unheard of in Sparta, but frequently worn by Ionians. Xenophanes tells how the Colophonians in their palmy days ἦσαν εἰς ἀγορὴν παναλουργέα φάρε' ἔχοντες (Stein). ὡς ἂν with opt., c. 75, l. 19.

6. καταστάς 'being introduced.' καθίστημι and κατάστασις are frequently used of the introduction of foreign ambassadors; iii. 46, Thuc. iv. 84 καταστάς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος.

8. ἀπέδοξε, c. 172, l. 10, lit. 'came to a negative resolution.'

15. ἀπερέοντα...ῥῆσιν 'to announce a message.' ἀπειπεῖν is common in Homer='speak out.' It is not necessary to take the word here='to forbid,' cp. c. 155, l. 21, with ῥῆσιν as a cognate accus.

CHAPTER CLIII.

6. οὐκ ἔδειςά κω 'never yet did I fear,' cp. iv. 97.

9. ἔλλεσχα 'subject of gossip,' cp. περιλεσχῆνευτος, ii. 135.

14. ἀγορή in the sense of a place for trade or public debate. Acc. to Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2. 3 they have ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, where the royal palace and government offices are situated but from which all tradesfolk and their wares are rigorously excluded. Strabo p. 734 says of the Persians οὔτε πωλοῦσιν οὔτε ὠνοῦνται. The nobility could doubtless get from their dependents what they wanted without the necessity of paying for it (Rawl. *A. M.* III. 242).

17. κομίζειν, possibly in the Homeric sense of 'to take charge of,' cp. *Od.* xxiii. 355. But this sense does not occur elsewhere in Herod., and 'to convey to Agbatana' may well be the meaning.

19. τὴν πρώτην εἶναι 'at the first.' For this absolute use of εἶναι cp. τὸ νῦν εἶναι, τὸ τήμερον εἶναι, and εἰς δύναμιν εἶναι 'as far as possible,' Plato, *Polit.* 300 c. With τὴν πρώτην cp. τὴν ταχίστην, c. 73, l. 25.

- 103 20. τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος. Ctesias, *Pers.* 2 f., is wrong in placing the conquest of the Bactrians and Sacae before the Lydian expedition. They probably fell victims to Cyrus between 546 and 538 B.C.
21. τε...δέ. See L. S. Lexicon under τε A 3 a, cp. c. 108, l. 21. τε should properly follow στρατηλατείειν, cp. c. 154, l. 2.

CHAPTER CLV.

7. πατέρα κ.τ.λ., a proverbial expression derived from a line of the epic poet Stasinus, νήπιος δὲ πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει (quoted by Arist. *Rhet.* I. 15. 14, II. 21. 11). Croesus below l. 16 quotes another Greek proverb.

10. θωμάζω εἰ. εἰ after words denoting wonder, joy, etc. "gives a milder or more polite form of expression, putting the object of the wonder etc. into the form of a supposition instead of stating it as a fact." Goodwin, *M. T.* § 496.

13. πάντα, cp. c. 99, l. 6.

16. κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω. Cp. *Od.* XIX. 92 ἔρδουσα μέγα ἔργον δὲ σῆ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξεις, 'the stain of which thou shalt wipe out with thine own head,' in reference to a belief that the pollution of murder could be got rid of by the murderer wiping off the blood from his weapon on the hair of his victim's head. Cp. Monro *ad loc.* *Soph. El.* 445 κάπλι λουτροῖσιν κάρᾳ κηλίδας ἐξέμαξεν 'and for ablution she wiped off the bloodstains (from her sword) on his head' (Jebb). With the present passage cp. Joshua ii. 19 'his blood shall be on our head.'

- 104 17. τὰ...παρεόντα loosely dependent on ἀδικέων, cp. c. 24, l. 18.
18. τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σ., hardly consistent with c. 153, l. 16.

CHAPTER CLVI.

4. ἀξιόχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνη 'afford him a sufficient pretext.'

8. ὑπέλς τῆς ὀργῆς 'having abated of his wrath,' cp. ix. 4 ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης.

CHAPTER CLVII.

2. ἦθεα τὰ Περσέων, sc. Agbatana, c. 153, l. 17, the capital of Media.

- 105 6. ὅσην δὴ κοτε 'of whatever size it might be,' c. 160, l. 5.

12. ἔγνωσαν 'decided,' c. 74, l. 20. συμβουλῆς κ.τ.λ. 'to refer to the god at Branchidae for advice.' ἀνοῖσαι, a correction for ἀνώσαι of

MSS., contains the very rare form *οἶσαι*, used as aor. infin. of *φέρω*. "No one would gather from this passage that Hdt. had already twice mentioned the oracle," cc. 46, 92. Cp. c. 170, l. 13 (Woods). Herod. probably composed his various 'episodes' at different times and through lack of revision left certain unevennesses in the completed work.

CHAPTER CLVIII.

1. **τοὺς Βραγχίδας**, the masc. of the priests, the fem. of the place, c. 92, l. 10.
2. **περὶ Πακτύην** 'in the matter of P.' with *ποιέοντες*. Contrast l. 10.
10. **ἔς δ'** 'until,' c. 115, l. 14, following closely upon *ἔσχε*.

CHAPTER CLIX.

6. **δειμαίνοντες** 'although we fear.' 106
7. **τὸ ἀπό σεῦ** 'thy counsel,' vii. 101. **τὸ ἀπ' ἡμέων** ix. 7 'our conduct.'
9. **ὁ δ'**, Apollo.
15. **φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς** 'directed to.' Cp. ii. 122 *ὄδον φέρουσαν ἐς ἱρόν* and the usage in c. 10, l. 12.

CHAPTER CLX.

6. **οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη** 'for the business was never carried through.'
11. **πολιούχου**. Athena *πολιούχος*, *πολιάς* or *πολιᾶτις*, 'keeper of 107 the city,' had temples in the citadels of Athens, Sparta, Troezen, Tegea, Erythrae and many other towns.
12. **ἐπὶ τῷ Α. μισθῷ**, lit. 'on condition of A. as price.' Cp. *ἐπιμισθῷ τοῖσι τέκνοισι*, v. 65.
13. **τοῦ δὲ κ.τ.λ.** would naturally mean 'of this Atarneus there is a region in Mysia,' but we want the meaning 'this A. is a region of Mysia,' i.e. *ὁ δὲ Ἀτ. οὗτος ἐστὶ χωρὸς τῆς Μ.* The genitive may have come in from l. 16 (Krüger).
15. **ἀποδέξαι** 'to produce him.' See their instructions, c. 156, l. 13.
16. **οὗτος** explained by *ὅτε*, 'it was no short time that elapsed during which.'

17. ἐκ τοῦ Ἄτ. τούτου with οὐλαὶ κριθέων. The accusative depends on the composite verbal notion *πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο* = *πρόεχεε*, cp. c. 68, l. 9; c. 161, l. 5. Whether οὐλαί be etymologically akin to ἄλος or not, it is clear that the word means whole unground barley-corns. No ancient authority favours the theory that οὐλαί means ground meal (from √ ἄλ- 'grind' says Buttmann). Contrast the Roman ritual use of *mola salsa*. The corns, like the Roman meal, were sprinkled on the sacrificial victim's head.

19. ἀπέλιχτο a rare passive, 'were kept away from.' Others take it as middle, supplying ἕκαστος out of οὐδεὶς. But the middle appears to be only used with χεῖρας or similar words.

CHAPTER CLXI.

5. λήϊν ποιούμενος = ληϊζόμενος. Cp. Thuc. VIII. 41 τὴν χώραν καταδρομαῖς λείαν ἐποιεῖτο. For Magnesia see H. G. Ind.

CHAPTER CLXII.

3. καὶ αὐτὸς, like his predecessor Mazares, c. 156, l. 9. For the 'unlawful meal' see c. 119.

7. χῶμασι, i.e. by throwing up a great bank of earth against the city wall, forming an inclined plane from the ground to the summit. See Thuc. II. 75, 76 for the use of this mode of attack at the siege of Plataea. It had been employed from remote antiquity by the Assyrians, 2 Kings xix. 32.

8. ὅκως 'whenever,' c. 11, l. 6. τειχίρεας, sc. τοὺς πολίτας implied in τὰς πόλιας, cp. c. 151, l. 6.

10. Ἰωνίης, dependent on πρώτῃ, cp. c. 26, l. 3.

CHAPTER CLXIII.

108 4. οἱ καταδέξαντες 'who opened up.' Tartessus or Tarshish, witness its Semitic name, had long been known to the Phoenicians, cp. 1 Kings x. 22, Jer. x. 9, Ezek. xxvii. 12, but they had doubtless kept it closed to foreigners in the interests of their own trade. See also H. G. Ind.

5. πεντηκοντέροισι, long sharp-keeled galleys rowed by 50 men, who sat in two rows on the same level, 25 on each side. They were generally employed as ships of war, cp. l. 1, on account of their speed. The Phocaeans used them for protection against pirates.

9. πάντα 'full 120 years,' different from τὰ πάντα 'in all,' c. 214, l. 15, πάντα implying that the number might well be greater, τὰ πάντα that it certainly is not greater than the total named. Arganthonius' longevity became proverbial. Anacreon Fr. 8 says οὐτ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατὸν Ταρτησσοῦ βασιλεύσαι sc. βουλοίμην ἄν (quoted by Stein).

10. προσφιλέες...οὕτω δὴ τι...ὥς 'so very friendly that.' In two other passages, ii. 135, iii. 130, Herod. uses the somewhat uncommon ὥς with the indic. in a consecutive sense after οὕτω δὴ τι. Cp. also c. 185, l. 10.

13. ὁ δὲ marking the apodosis. Cp. c. 112, l. 10 and note on c. 17, l. 9.

14. τὸν Μῆδον, cp. τὸν Ἑλληνα, c. 69, l. 7. The Ionians frequently spoke of the Persians as Medes, the name of the older power.

15. περιβαλέσθαι, infin. of purpose. Grote, Part II. c. 32, finds a chronological difficulty in the fact that there would have been hardly time between the first alarm of the Persian power conceived by the Ionians and the siege of Phocaea for the communications with Arganthonius.

17. εἶσι, cp. c. 93, l. 17. τοῦτο δὲ, sc. τὸ τεῖχος ἐστι.

CHAPTER CLXIV.

2. τοιῶδε, unusual for τοιούτω, cp. c. 137, l. 1.

5. κατιρῶσαι 'to dedicate' to the king in token of submission. Compare the practice of dedicating part of one's booty to a god. See also c. 92, l. 24.

16. χαλκός. Votive offerings in bronze and marble would be too bulky and not sufficiently valuable for transport. 109

17. δὲ resumptive. ἐσθέντες. Note the change of voice without difference of meaning.

CHAPTER CLXV.

3. ὠνευμένοισι 'offering to buy,' c. 69, l. 18.

5. ἀποκληισθῆ 'shut off,' i.e. from trade.

7. ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν 'established for themselves a city,' but the phrase is unique. Stein emends to ἐνεκτίσαντο, Herwerden to ἐνεκθήσαντο, cp. v. 23.

9. τετελευτήκεε. Note the unaugmented form (in all the mss.).

Smyth, *Ion. Dial.* § 576. 1. Arganthonius had died since the events recorded in c. 163, l. 11 f., and the offer of a home at Tartessus was no longer open to them.

15. **μύδρον** κ.τ.λ. Horace imitates the passage, *Epodes* xvi. 25. This method of oath-taking was a favourite one with the Ionians. When the confederacy of Delos was formed in B.C. 477, Aristides took oaths to the Ionians *ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τοὺς μύδρους ἐν τῷ πελάγει καθεῖσαν*, *Arist. Ath. Pol.* 25 (quoted by Stein).

CHAPTER CLXVI.

110 3. **γὰρ...ῶν**, cp. c. 30, l. 10 f. The Etruscans and Carthaginians were at this time the leading naval powers in the western Mediterranean and could not view with equanimity the rise of a third claimant to maritime supremacy.

9. **Καδμείη τις νίκη**, a victory involving heavy loss to the victors. Acc. to Paus. IX. 9. 3 the name is derived from the costly victory obtained by the Thebans over the Argives in the so-called war of the Seven against Thebes.

10. **αἱ μὲν**. For the article cp. c. 18, l. 4.

12. **ἀπεστράφατο** κ.τ.λ. 'for they had their rams bent.'

16. **ἀπέντες τὴν Κ.** 'having abandoned Corsica.'

CHAPTER CLXVII.

2. **Τυρσηνοί...** It is generally agreed that some words have dropped out, e.g. *διέλαχον* 'οἱ δὲ Τυρσηνοὶ (Abicht), 'divided the prisoners, but the T. got a far greater number.' Bähr's suggestion *ἐλαβον* is not likely to have been corrupted into *ἐλαχον* of the MSS.

3. **ἐξαγαγόντες** 'having led them out to execution,' cp. v. 38, vi. 91.

111 11. **σφι**, to the dead Phocaeans. *θυσίαι* were made to the Olympian deities, *ἐναγισμοί* to the infernal gods and the ghosts of the dead. Cp. ii. 44 where Herod. distinguishing between two aspects of Heracles says *καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζουσι*.

17. **τὸν Κύρνον...κτίσαι** κ.τ.λ. 'to found a chapel to Cynus as a hero, not to found a colony in the island.' Cp. *ιδρύσθαι* used of a place = 'to be founded,' of a hero = 'to have a statue erected to one.' The Cynus intended was certainly not the friend of Theognis, as Stein suggests. See H. G. Ind.

CHAPTER CLXVIII.

6. οὐκ ἀπόνητο 'had no joy thereof,' an Homeric reminiscence, cp. *Od.* XVI. 119 αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς | μῦνον ἔμ' ἐν μεγάροισι τεκῶν λίπεν οὐδ' ἀπόνητο.

CHAPTER CLXIX.

3. διὰ μάχης ἀπίκοντο, cp. vi. 9 διὰ μάχης ἐλεύσονται, and with a verb of rest, c. 206, l. 8.

11. οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες. Chios evidently submitted in order to save her property on the mainland and because she realised that owing to the lack of a fleet the Persian suzerainty would be merely nominal. The Aeolian Lesbos followed the example of Chios. Samos however remained independent until the time of Darius (iii. 139), and indeed during the reign of Cyrus' successor reached the zenith of her power and prosperity under the tyrant Polycrates. 112

CHAPTER CLXX.

8. εὐδαιμονήσειν, sc. ἔφη out of ἐκέλευε.

12. ἐπὶ 'after.' γενομένη, sc. ἦν.

15. Φοίνικος. His ancestors (see H. G. Ind.) were among the Cadmeans who emigrated from Boeotia to Miletus. The detailed notice of Thales does not suggest that he has already been mentioned twice. ἐν βουλευτήριον. The proposal was that the Ionic cities should surrender their individual independence and bind themselves into a close political organisation with a common centre of government at Teos. The communities composing this aggregate were still to reside in their old towns (οἰκειομένας μηδὲν ἦσον) but were to regard themselves as mere demes or local subdivisions of the new state.

CHAPTER CLXXI.

4. Αἰολέας. No mention of their subjugation has been made. 113

5. ἐκ τῶν νήσων. When the Athenians disinterred the dead in the island of Delos (B.C. 426) more than half were recognised as Carians from the shape of their arms and the mode of their burial (Thuc. 1. 8).

7. Δέλεγες, generally distinguished from Carians as in *Il.* x. 428.

8. ὅσον κ.τ.λ. 'so far back that is (καί) as ever I can reach by hearsay evidence.' (ἐπί) μακρότατον (Werfer) may be right, cp. ii. 29, iv. 16 etc.

9. οἱ δέ, cp. c. 17, l. 9. Note that μέν (l. 7) and δέ here join clauses in different constructions.

10. τε strictly should follow κατεστραμμένου.

13. ἄμα together with Minos. μακρῶ μάλιστα forming a double superlative with λογιμώτατον. Thucydides i. 4 gives a different account of Minos' relations with the Carians, H. G. Ind. For the sea power of the Carians which probably reached its height after the fall of Minos' empire, see J. L. Myres in *J. H. S.* xxvi. p. 107 f.

15. λόφους. Alcaeus sings of a hero λόφον τε σείων Καρικόν (Strabo 661). The Homeric poems frequently mention λόφοι but never σημήια, devices like those on the shields of the Seven against Thebes (Aesch. *Sept.* 387 f.).

17. ὄχανα appear to be related to the Homeric κανόνες (*Il.* XIII. 407), two wooden rods traversing the inside of the shield to hold it by. Possibly the καρικοεργές ὄχανον (Anacreon ap. Strabo *loc. cit.*) was an excrescence or handle in the middle of one of them. At any rate it is distinct from the πόρπαξ or leather thong running round the shield and fixed at intervals by pins (cp. Jebb on Soph. *Ajax* 575).

21. περικείμενοι = περιτεθειμένοι, sc. τὰς ἀσπίδας.

27. τῶ αὐτῶ, i.e. Carians. Contrast l. 7 above.

114 30. κασιγνήτοισι. There is some evidence that both Lydians and Carians spoke Aryan languages. This however, as Herod. himself recognises l. 33, does not by itself prove racial affinity.

33. ὅσοι δέ...τούτοισι δέ. For the parallel particles cp. c. 113, l. 3; c. 146, l. 11; c. 196, l. 15.

CHAPTER CLXXII.

1. δοκέειν ἐμοί, limiting infinitive, c. 153, l. 19.

6. τῶν τε ἄλλων, short for τῶν νόμων τῶν τε ἄλλων.

9. ἰδρυθέντων κ.τ.λ. 'when foreign rites had been established among them.'

12. ἥβηδόν, lit. 'in their youthful companies.' -δον expresses *manner*, cp. εἰλαδόν, ἀγληδόν, ἐμβαδόν. The general sense of the word seems to be 'from youth upwards,' cp. vi. 21. With this forcible mode of ejecting offensive deities contrast the subtle plan devised by Cleisthenes of Sicyon against Adrastus, whereby that hero 'might depart of his own accord,' v. 67.

CHAPTER CLXXIII.

11. **τέως** 'for a time.' Note the parataxis *τέως μὲν...οἱ δὲ...*, where 115 we should say 'whilst A. ruled, they were called.' Some editors unnecessarily alter to *ἔως* and explain *δέ* as *apodotic*. Cp. iv. 165 which exemplifies the change from paratactic to subordinate construction (Woods), *ἡ δὲ μήτηρ, τέως μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσιλέως ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ διαιτᾶτο, ἡ δὲ εἶχε κ.τ.λ.*

12. **ἠνείκαντο** 'brought with them.' Cp. c. 57, l. 17. *τε* should properly follow *ἠνείκαντο*.

14. **καὶ οὗτος**, like Sarpedon. Nothing is known of any early connexion between Athens and Lycia.

22. **εἴη**, as though *εἰρομένου* were equivalent to *εἰ εἶροίτο*. For the *gnomic* future *καταλέξει* cp. c. 198, l. 7, Goodwin *M. T.* § 66. Herod. is wrong in supposing this custom unique. A large number of primitive tribes trace descent through the mother instead of through the father (cp. Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*, p. 120 f.). Lycian funereal inscriptions trace the pedigrees of the deceased through their mothers.

CHAPTER CLXXIV.

4. **καὶ ἄλλοι**, the Dorian inhabitants of Halicarnassus and Myndus. 116
6. **τὸ**, i.e. *χώρης*, attracted to the gender of the predicate.
7. **ἀργμένης**. Attic *ἠργμένης*, from *ἄρχω*.
11. **τὸ...ὀλίγον τοῦτο**, the *ὀλίγης* of l. 8, a narrow strip of land joining the peninsulas of Triopion and Bybassia. For **ὄσον τε ἐπὶ** cp. c. 126, l. 4.

15. **ἐγίνετο** = *ἔμελλε γενέσθαι* says Stein, cp. c. 187, l. 16. All their territory *was in process of becoming* within, i.e. westward of, the projected canal. Other MSS. read *ἐγένετο*, 'came within the isthmus.' **εἰς τὴν ἠπειρον**, or rather the Bybassian peninsula.

17. **γάρ**, giving the reason in anticipation, c. 8, l. 4.

22. **τὸ ἀντίξοον** 'the adverse influence.' The word is confined to Ionic. Cp. Heracleitus' saying *τὸ ἀντίξοον συμφέρον* 'There is harmony in discord.' **ὡς αὐτοὶ Κ. λέγουσι**. As the Pythian oracles were generally in hexameter, not in iambic verse, this phrase has been thought to suggest a doubt as to the genuineness of the present oracle.

25. **εἰ κ' ἐβούλετο**. The insertion of *κε* with the indicative in the protasis of an unreal conditional sentence is very rare. There is one example in Homer, *Il.* XXI. 527. See Monro, *H. G.* § 324.

CHAPTER CLXXV.

- 117 1. ἦσαν δὲ Π. κ.τ.λ., logically subordinate to οὗτοι κ.τ.λ., l. 5. A similar paratactic construction in c. 179, ll. 15 ff. With a few slight verbal alterations and the remarkable variant *δὲς* for *τρὶς* the passage recurs in viii. 104, where it is commonly regarded as an interpolation, cp. Dr Macan *ad loc.* Aristotle observes, *H. A.* III. 11, γυνή δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ γενεῖω οὐ φύει τρίχας, πλὴν ἐνίαις γίνονται ὀλίγαι, καὶ οἶον ἐν Καρία ταῖς ἱερείαις, ὃ δοκεῖ συμβαίνειν σημεῖον τῶν μελλόντων.

CHAPTER CLXXVI.

4. ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο 'displayed deeds of valour,' cp. ix. 40.
 8. καίεσθαι, exexegetic infinitive after ὑπῆψαν.
 10. τῶν δὲ κ.τ.λ. 'Of the Xanthians who now claim to be Lycians the greater number are immigrant aliens, all but 80 families.' ἰστιῶν = Attic ἐστιῶν. Possibly those who escaped were spending the summer in the mountains after the fashion of the Lycians of to-day (Fellows).

CHAPTER CLXXVII.

- 118 4. τὰ...πλέω παρήσομεν, e.g. the Bactrians and Sacae, c. 153, l. 20, probably subdued before the conquest of Babylon. Ctesias places their subjugation before the Lydian war, cp. note on c. 154, l. 20.

CHAPTER CLXXVIII.

1. τὰ πάντα, an exaggeration, for Assyria itself is part of the continent. Stein therefore reads τὰ ἄλλα πάντα. For the meaning of Ἀσσύριοι in Herod. see H. G. Ind. and for the capture of Nineveh c. 106, l. 10.

8. μέγαθος...μέτωπον, both accusatives of reference. Cp. ii. 134 πυραμίδα...εἴκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσιν κῶλον ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων εἰούσης τετραγώνου 'wanting 20 feet of 3 plethra each side, square in form.' The anacoluthic εἰούσης τετραγώνου is loosely dependent on μέτωπον in the one case, and on κῶλον in the other. Thus in ii. 124 we have τῆς (πυραμίδος) ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὀκτῶ πλέθρα εἰούσης τετραγώνου.

9. **στάδιοι** predicative. 'These amount altogether to 480 stades (55 miles) for the circuit of the city.' Ctesias and other writers put the circuit at about 100 stades less. Aristotle, *Pol.* III. 3. 5, says Babylon *ἔχει περιγραφὴν μᾶλλον ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως*.

17. **βασιλῆιος πῆχυς**, the royal Persian ell contrasted with the *μέτριος π.* or common Greek ell. The *πῆχυς* consisted of 24 *δάκτυλοι*, and as Herod. is apparently taking the Greek ell as his standard (cp. c. 192, l. 15), the Greek must be related to the Royal ell as 24 : 27. But as the Attic ell = 462 millimeters and from the monuments the Royal ell has been computed at 525 millimeters, the actual ratio between them seems to be about 21 : 24. It has therefore been suggested that possibly in this passage Herod. may be taking the Royal ell as his standard and with *δακτύλοισι* must be understood *βασιληίοισι*. Cp. Stein's note. Acc. to Herod. the walls must have been about 85 feet broad and 340 feet high. Xenophon, *Anab.* III. 4. 10, says the ruined wall of Mespila (*Nineveh*) was 150 feet high.

CHAPTER CLXXIX.

7. **διὰ κ.τ.λ.** 'at intervals of 30 courses of brick.' Cp. on c. 62, l. 1. Reed mats have been found in the brick walls of Babylonian buildings, but generally at more frequent intervals, sometimes even between every single course. 119

11. **μονόκωλα**, probably 'one-storied.' *κῶλον* elsewhere in Herod. means the 'face' of a building, and some therefore translate 'with a single face,' i.e. forming a continuous row. But there seems no reason why *κῶλον*, a 'member,' should not be applied equally well to a 'story.' The walls of Babylon were also fitted with *πύργοι*, iii. 156, and *προμαχεῶνες*, iii. 151. Aristophanes parodies Herodotus' description of the walls in *Birds* 552, 1125.

13. **ἐνεστᾶσι**, not strictly accurate, acc. to Stein, because Darius destroyed them, iii. 159. But the historic present is natural enough.

14. **χάλκεαι πᾶσαι** 'of solid bronze,' cp. c. 52, l. 4; c. 194, l. 5.

CHAPTER CLXXX.

5. **ἔξει**, cp. c. 6, l. 4.

6. **τὸ ὦν δὴ κ.τ.λ.** 'the wall on either side has its arms carried down to the river.' The *ἀγκῶνες* are the parts of the wall running east and west to the river from the four corners of the square enclosure. For the accus. *ἀγκῶνας* cp. c. 166, l. 13 and l. 11 below.

7. τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου adverbial accus., 'thence,' from the four points where the exterior walls touch the river. ἐπικαμπαί 'return walls.'

8. αἶμασιη 'a dry wall,' built without mortar. In apposition with αἰ ἐπικαμπαί it attracts παρατείνει into its own number.

10. κατατέμνηται κ.τ.λ. 'has its roads cut straight.' Cp. l. 6 above.

11. τὰς τε ἄλλας, those running parallel to the river.

12. ἐχούσας = φερούσας l. 15. Cp. c. 181, l. 13 and the use of εἶχε in c. 64, l. 11. κατὰ...ἐκάστην ὁδὸν, opposite each of the cross roads, called λαῦραι below.

15. καὶ αὐταὶ as well as the gates in the great walls, c. 179, l. 14. καὶ αὐταί, like the roads in which they ended, l. 12.

CHAPTER CLXXXI.

120 1. τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος, the outer ring wall with the αἶμασιαι along the river banks. θώρηξ. For the metaphor cp. θωρακεῖον Aesch. *Septem* 32, τειχέων κιθῶνες vii. 139.

3. στεινότερον not 'of less circumference,' but 'narrower,' 'less thick' than the wide ring wall, c. 179, l. 13.

5. ἐν τῷ μὲν...ἐν δὲ τῷ, taking up ἐν φάρσει ἐκατέρω. τε misplaced. It joins μεγάλην and ἰσχυρῶ.

6. ἱρὸν, the whole sacred enclosure, τέμενος, c. 183, l. 13.

11. μάλα 'again,' c. 134, l. 17. For μέχρι οὐ with a following genitive cp. ii. 19 μέχρι οὐ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. Buildings in receding stages were characteristic of Babylonia. The colossal ruin at Birs-Nimrud once consisted of seven stages of burnt brick, the lower stages being 26 feet high and the upper 15, and the sides of the successive platforms varying from 272 to 20 feet each way.

CHAPTER CLXXXII.

1. ἔμοι μὲν, c. 131, l. 4.

4. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, taking up the relative κατὰ περ. Cp. c. 191, ll. 10—13.

6. Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαίου. Amen or Ammon, called Zeus by the Greeks as the supreme god of the place. For further information on the human consorts of gods see Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 63 f. At Thebes the consort 'in old days seems to have usually been the queen of Egypt herself.'

9. γένηται. The subject is probably πρόμαντις, 'whenever there is one' (Macaulay). Apollo only gave oracles at Patara during the summer. In the winter he retired to Delos. Cp. Hor. *Odes* III. 4. 62, Verg. *Aen.* IV. 143:

qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo.

CHAPTER CLXXXIII.

4. βάθρον 'pedestal' not 'footstool' (*θρήνυς*).
6. ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων, approximately 20 tons. The genit. is one of material.

8. τέλεια 'full grown,' opposed to γαλαθηνά 'sucklings.'

14. τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον, when Cyrus attacked Babylon. ἀνδριάς, presumably a statue of Baal, though the word is seldom applied to the image of a god. In Herod. it is generally used of colossal statues, ii. 91 (where it is contrasted with the ἀγαλμα of a god), viii. 27, 121.

17. ἐπιβουλεύσας, doubtless after one of the two Babylonian revolts in the early years of his reign (see the Behistan Inscript. Herod. describes only one revolt iii. 159).

18. ἔλαβε, after the revolt which followed Xerxes' disasters in Greece. (Ctesias, *Exc. Pers.* 22, Arrian VII. 17, who says he destroyed the temple itself.)

19. κινέειν, often of sacrilegious meddling, vi. 134 κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων. Cp. c. 187, l. 11 ἀκίνητος.

Ctesias and the later historians in the main follow Herod. in their description of Babylon, though they reduce the circuit of the walls to about 360 stades. It is difficult to reconcile the classical accounts with the existing ruins. The position of the mounds of debris makes it clear that by far the greater portion of the city lay to the east of the Euphrates in a triangular space about 3 miles long and 2 in greatest width contained between two ramparts at right angles to one another and the river. Within this space are the remains of an inner rampart running north and south. There is no trace of continuous walls enclosing so large an area (nearly 200 square miles) as Herodotus' account implies. If such ever existed, we can hardly suppose them to have been of the colossal height and thickness which he describes, and only a small part of the enclosure could have been filled with streets and houses, the rest consisting of fields, orchards and gardens, as Q. Curtius states. Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 605—562) who practically rebuilt Babylon and left an inscription recording his work mentions two ramparts, Imgur-Bel and Nimitti-Bel, which were perhaps the defences of the citadel or royal palace, and an outer fortification with

gates of cedar and bronze and surrounded by a ditch. The inner and outer walls of Herod. are perhaps only exaggerated and highly coloured representatives of these or similar defensive works. Herod. is certainly in error when he places the royal palace and the temple of Belus on opposite sides of the river. On the west bank indeed are the remains of a small palace, known as the palace of Neriglissar (perhaps that placed by Ctesias at the west end of the bridge), but the great palace of Herod. must clearly be identified with one of the vast mounds on the eastern bank. Modern opinion is inclined to identify the palace with the central mound of *Kasr* and the temple of Belus, the Esagila of Nebuchadnezzar's inscription and probably the Biblical Tower of Babel, with the mound of *Omran* to the south of it. Rawlinson however finds the remains of the temple of Belus in the great northern mound of Babil, which is identified by others with the famous 'hanging gardens' of Diodorus. Our present knowledge of the contents of the mounds is not extensive enough to permit a final determination of the topography of ancient Babylon. (Cp. Weissbach, *Die Stadtbild von Babylon*, J. G. Pinches art. *Babylon* in *Encycl. Biblica*, Rawlinson's Appendix to Herod. iii.)

CHAPTER CLXXXIV.

122 3. Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι. So in c. 106, l. 11 he promises to narrate the capture of Nineveh ἐν ἐτέροισι λόγοισι. He probably planned a separate work on Assyrian and Babylonian history, which would have resembled the Αἰγύπτιοι λόγοι of Book ii., but failed to execute it. The passage in Aristotle *H.A.* VIII. 18 Ἡρόδοτος ἡγνόει τοῦτο· πεποίηκε γὰρ τὸν τῆς μαντείας πρόεδρον αἰτὸν ἐν τῇ διηγήσει περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τὴν Νίνου πίνοντα, containing as it does the variant Ἡσιόδος for Ἡρόδοτος, is too slender evidence for believing the work to have been actually written, especially as it is not referred to elsewhere.

5. γενεῆσι πέντε πρότερον. Four generations intervened between Semiramis and Nitocris. As Nitocris was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, Semiramis must have lived about the time of Nabonassar B.C. 747—733. See H. G. Ind.

7. αὕτη μὲν repeating ἡ μὲν.... Cp. below c. 185, ll. 1, 2 ἡ δὲ... αὕτη δέ, c. 113, l. 4 with note, and ii. 42 ὅσοι μὲν...οὔτοι μὲν, ὅσοι δὲ... οὔτοι δέ. χῶματα. They became proverbial, χῶματα ἃ δὴ καλοῦσι Σεμράμιδος, Strabo 737. Her works were so much exaggerated by Greek historians that Berosus (ap. Joseph. *c. Arion.* i. 20) felt called upon to protest. Cp. Stein's note.

CHAPTER CLXXXV.

2. **συνετωπέρη**, perhaps a reflection on the profligacy of the legendary Semiramis (Stein). The name Nitocris is distinctively Egyptian, ii. 100. It appears from c. 188, l. 2 that she was the wife of Labyrinthus I. or Nebuchadnezzar, though acc. to Berosus he married a Median princess Ἀμύκτη. When Nebuchadnezzar invaded Egypt he possibly took one of his captives to wife. The works ascribed to Nitocris appear to have been really executed by Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus.

6. **αὐτοῖσι**, dat. of agent. The Babylonians must have awakened to the danger of the Medes since the capture of Nineveh, in which they actually lent them assistance. Cp. note on c. 106, l. 10.

9. **σφι** plural. **σφι** for **οἱ** is rare and poetical (Jebb on *Oed. Col.* 1490). Cp. c. 197, l. 9.

14. **τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης**, the Mediterranean, c. 1, l. 8.

19. **μέγαθος**, accus. of reference. Cp. **βάθος**, **εὖρος** l. 22.

20. **κατύπερθε πολλῶ**, at Sippara or Sepharvaim acc. to Abydenos Frag. 8, which is identified with the mound of Abu Habba some 40 miles north of Babylon. **ἔλυτρον λίμνη** κ.τ.λ. 'a basin for a lake, stretching it along the river only a short distance from it and excavating everywhere deep enough to reach the water.'

26. **ὀρώρυκτο**, sc. **ἡ λίμνη**.

27. **κρηπίδα** 'a facing wall' (Macaulay). Cp. ii. 170 **λίμνη λιθίνη κρηπίδι κεκοσμημένη**.

31. **ἐκ** 'after,' c. 50, l. 8. **ἐκδέκται** 'might await.' Note the subjunctives following the optative without appreciable change of meaning, c. 53, l. 3.

As the retardation of the current can only have been for the convenience of shipping, Herod. appears to attribute to Nitocris two objects hardly consistent with each other, (1) to improve the navigation of the river, l. 29, (2) to impede intercourse between Medes and Babylonians by making the journey longer and more difficult, ll. 30—32. In regard to (2) Nitocris' idea was that if the water of the river were drawn off into the lake, the river would dry up and be no longer navigable. The travellers would therefore have to disembark and make a long circuit round the artificial lake, the barrier between the lake and the river being too narrow to pass along. It may be noted however that Nitocris' ingenious contrivance did not hamper the approach of Cyrus. Still it is possible that the work really served a defensive purpose. Nebuchadnezzar apparently adopted some such device 'against presumptuous enemies...Great waters, like the waters

of the ocean, I made use of abundantly. Their depths were like the depths of the vast ocean... Thus I completely made strong the defences of Babylon' (Standard Inscription). See also note on c. 186, l. 28.

33. τῆς χώρης, dependent on κατὰ τοῦτο. τὰ σύντομα. Cp. iv. 136 τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπισταμένου 'knowing the short cuts.' As a matter of fact the nearest way from Media would not touch the Euphrates at all but cross the Tigris.

CHAPTER CLXXXVI.

1. ταῦτα μὲν κ.τ.λ. 'While then she threw these defences about the city by aid of excavation, she made the following addition as a sequel to them.' With ἐξ αὐτῶν 'in consequence of them' cp. ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου, l. 9.

3. φαρσέων, genitive of content. Cp. c. 183, l. 6.

5. διαβῆναι... διαβαίνειν, the aorist expressing the single 'timeless' act, the present the temporal process.

124 9. ἐτάμνετο κ.τ.λ. 'she had stones hewn of great length.' But such are not to be found in Babylonia, says Prof. Sayce. However Xenophon *Anab.* i. 5. 5 speaks of a Babylonian trade in mill-stones.

12. ὤρυσσε 'had been digging.' Krüger's change to ὤρυξε, adopted by Stein, is unnecessary. Cp. note on c. 81, l. 4. ἐν ᾧ 'while.'

16. κατὰ τὸν...τείχει, c. 179, l. 10. 'The river walls are distinctly assigned by Berosus to Nabunahit (Nabonidus), and the bricks which compose them, one and all, bear upon them the name of that monarch' (Rawlinson).

19. γέφυραν, 5 stades long and built on piers (κίονες) acc. to Diod. ii. 8. Native records make no mention of a bridge like that described by the Greeks, but a contract tablet of the time of Darius seems to refer to a bridge of boats.

28. ἔλος predicate. ἐς δέον...γεγονέναι 'was thought to serve a useful purpose,' by providing a means of defence. May not the primary object of the reservoir have really been to facilitate the construction of the quay walls and bridge, its defensive value being an incidental result?

CHAPTER CLXXXVII.

125 9. μὴ σπανίσας γε 'if he be not in want.' ἄλλως 'for any other reason.'

10. οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον, an epic formula occurring also in iii. 71, 82. Cp. Hesiod, *W. and D.* 750 μηδ' ἐπ' ἀκινήτοισι καθίσειν· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον.

12. **καὶ** 'both.' *καὶ...μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι* and *καὶ...μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν* are parallel.

15. **μὴ οὐ**, as a rule used only when the governing verb is negated. In the present passage *μή* and *μὴ οὐ* are indistinguishable in sense. Cp. iii. 82. Plato, *Symp.* 210 B *πολλὴ ἄνοια μὴ οὐχ ἡγείσθαι*. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 817.

16. **ἐγένετο** = *ἐμελλε γίνεσθαι*, 'would have come,' c. 174, l. 15. The Persians had a horror of corpses, hence their dread of passing under the gate.

19. **ἔας**, Homeric and Ionic 2nd pers. imperf. indic. of *εἰμί*. 1st pers. *ἔα*, ii. 19. Attic *ἦ*, *ἦς* are contracted from these forms.

CHAPTER CLXXXVIII.

3. **Δαβυνήτου** in apposition with *πατρός*. Herod. seems to regard Labynetus, i.e. Nabonidus, the last native king of Babylon, as the son of the Labynetus mentioned in c. 74, l. 18, who in spite of his name must be identified with Nebuchadnezzar. But the two kings were not father and son. Three monarchs intervened between them, (1) Nebuchadnezzar's son, Evil-Merodach, who was assassinated in B.C. 559, (2) Neriglissar, his assassin, who reigned till 556, (3) Neriglissar's son Labashi-Marduk, a minor, who after a reign of only 9 months was put to death by his courtiers, the leader of whom, Nabonidus, then ascended the throne. As no more than 6 years separated the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus, Herodotus' mistake is easily intelligible.

9. **τούτου** with *τοῦ ὕδατος*, partitive genitive. **ἀπεψημένου** 'boiled' (*ἀφέψω*), hardly for hygienic reasons. The boiling was probably a ritual act, though parallels are not forthcoming. Stein thinks the water was for the Haoma sacrifice, cp. c. 132, l. 4, not for drinking. Milton refers to the passage in *Par. Reg.* III. 288.

CHAPTER CLXXXIX.

5. **ὁ δὲ** 'now the Tigris,' cp. l. 10. Herodotus' words suggest that 126 Opis lay below the junction of the Gyndes and the Tigris, but Xenophon and Strabo place it considerably above by the river Physcus. Cp. H. G. Ind.

8. **ἱρῶν ἵππων**. These were apparently the 8 white horses which drew the sacred chariot of Zeus (Ahura-mazda). See vii. 40 where the Great King's order of march is described.

10. **συμψήσας**. The word properly means 'to rake together,' *τάργυρίδιον* Eupol. Δῆμ. 42. Cp. Ar. *Clouds* 975 and especially Iamblichus ap. Suid. *βιαζομένους δὲ τοὺς κολυμβητὰς συμψήσας ὁ ποταμὸς ἔφερε κάτω*. **οἰχώκεε** instantaneous pluperfect, c. 79, l. 9.

14. **οὐ** not *μή*. The words in the text are the oblique form of *ὥστε...οὐ βρέχουσαι διαβήσονται*, dependent on an infinitive in indirect discourse. In such cases *οὐ* is generally retained. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 594.

16. **κατέτεινε** κ.τ.λ. 'he marked out (*ὑποδέξας*) and drew trenches in straight lines.' Cp. c. 199, l. 11 and vii. 23 *σχοινοτενές ποιησάμενοι* 'having drawn a straight line.'

19. **πάντα τρόπον**, c. 199, l. 11, cp. ii. 108, 'every way.' *τρόπος* used of direction seems peculiar to Herod. The story in its Herodotean form is obviously legendary but may perhaps be based on certain "great hydraulic works on the *Diyalah* below the Hamaran hills where the river has been dammed across to raise the level of the water and a perfect network of canals have been opened out from it on either side" (H. C. Rawlinson).

21. **θερείην**, sc. *ῶρην*, c. 202, l. 7.

CHAPTER CXC.

2. **τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα**, the number of days in the oriental year, c. 32, l. 21 note. White horses were sacred to the sun, hence the editors see a certain appropriateness in the 360 cuts inflicted on the river.

3. **ὑπέλαμπε** 'began to appear,' a word more proper to sunrise, cp. viii. 130, *ἔαρος ἐπιλάμψαντος*.

127 10. **προεσάξαντο** 'stored beforehand,' viii. 20, from *προσάσσω* not from *προεσάγω*. Unless *συνάξαντες* (*συννάξαντες* Reiske) vii. 60 is right, there is no case of the first aor. of *ἄγω* in Herod.

13. **ἀνωτέρω...προκοπτομένων** 'his affairs not going forward at all.' A similar expression in iii. 56, *ἐς τὸ πρόσω* being substituted for *ἀνωτέρω*. The metaphor is from the advance of an army up country (Woods).

CHAPTER CXCI.

3. **ἅπασαν** is contradicted by *έτέρους* l. 5 and *τῷ ἀχρηίῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ* l. 9. It cannot fairly be translated 'the main body of the

army' and all the explanations suggested do violence to the language. Either *ἄπασαν* is a mere inaccuracy or else the reading is wrong. Stein's *ἀπαναστᾶσαν* 'having raised the siege' is not happy.

9. *τῷ ἀχρηίῳ*, the part unfit for fighting (cp. c. 207, l. 35), opp. to *ὁ καθαρὸς στρατός*, c. 211, l. 3.

10. *τὴν λίμνην*, c. 185, l. 20.

14. *εἰούσαν ἔλος* 'being then a marsh,' c. 185, l. 29; c. 186, l. 28.

15. *ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ* 'through the falling of the river.'

18. *ὡς* with *μάλιστά κη* 'to somewhere about the middle of a man's thigh.'

20. *ἔμαθον* 'had noticed,' vii. 208 *ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἔξω ἐμάνθανε*.

21. *οἱ δ'*, marking the apodosis, c. 112, l. 10, 'they would have 128 permitted the Persians to enter the city and destroyed them miserably.'

ἔς τὴν πόλιν, the river bed lying between the two quarters of the city. If the MSS. reading *οὐδ' ἄν* is kept, the negative belongs only to the participle, 'they would not even have permitted the P. to enter the city but would have destroyed them miserably.'

23. *ἄν* calls immediate attention to the conditional nature of the sentence; repeated with *ἔλαβον*, l. 26.

24. *ἔς... ἔχουσας*, c. 181, l. 12. For the *πυλίδας* and *αἵμασιás* see c. 180, ll. 8, 13.

28. *λέγεται*, although parenthetical, governs the following infinitives, c. 65, l. 20.

29. *τῶν... ἑαλωκότων* 'when those who lived about the extremities of the city had been taken prisoners.' *ἑαλωκότας* refers to the same people. As the attack was made from the river, *τὰ ἔσχατα* must mean the neighbourhood of the river banks.

33. *καὶ τὸ κάρτα* 'in good earnest.' Arist. *Pol.* III. 3 mentions a tradition that it took more than two days for the news of the capture to spread to every corner of the city.

The accounts of the fall of Babylon given by Herod. and Xenophon, *Cyr.* VII. 5, are quite unhistorical. It appears from cuneiform inscriptions that Nabonidus had made himself offensive to his subjects by his irreligion and general mismanagement of affairs. Cyrus who had for some time been hovering on the frontier of Accad or N. Babylonia was joined by the Accadians and Chaldaeans and at length defeated Nabonidus in a pitched battle at Opis. Sippara surrendered without a blow and the victorious army under Gobryas marched on Babylon, which joyfully opened its gates. The unpopular Nabonidus was captured but, according to Berosus, well treated by the Persians. About 3 months later Cyrus himself entered the city and proclaimed

peace. Thus at Babylon there was no siege, no assault and practically no opposition. Herodotus' story may be reminiscent of one of the later sieges.

34. **πρῶτον**. It was captured twice by Darius, in B.C. 520 and in B.C. 514?, when the walls were partly razed. Cp. note on c. 183, l. 17. Herod. knows nothing of previous captures of Babylon, e.g. its destruction by Sennacherib in B.C. 689 after an unsuccessful attempt to throw off the yoke of Assyria.

CHAPTER CXCII.

3. **ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ** 'and among them too,' ἐν adverbial.

4. **διαραίρηται**. The Persian empire in the time of Darius was divided into 20 satrapies or provinces, each rendering a fixed tribute in money and in kind. The *φόρος* from 'Babylon and the rest of Assyria' was 1000 talents of silver, iii. 92.

8. **ἡ Ἀσσυρία χώρα**, here again used to include Babylonia. Cp. last note.

9. **τῇ δυνάμει** 'in respect of its resources.' **τῆς ἄλλης**, idiomatic for *τῆς πάσης*. Cp. *Od.* v. 105 *οἰζυρώτατον ἄλλων*. The genitive is generally called a genit. of reference, but it is perhaps no more than a loose use of the partitive prompted by love of antithesis.

10. **σατραπήην, σατράπης** represents the Persian *khsatrapa* 'upholder of the empire.'

12. **ἔκου** 'since,' c. 68, l. 8. **ἐκ βασιλέος**, generally without the article when meaning the king of Persia. Cp. c. 119, l. 30 note.

14. **προσήει** 'came in,' used technically of tribute. Arist. *Eccl.* 712 *τὰ προσιόντα χρήματα*. Cp. *πρόσοδοι* = Lat. *reditus*, Eng. *revenues*. **ἀρτάβη**. The *μέδιμνος* = 48 *χοίνικες* = about 12 gallons, so that the *ἀρτάβη* measured a little more than a bushel and a half. The name survives in the mod. Egyptian *ardeb* (about 5 bushels).

129 20. **κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν**, sporting dogs, so large acc. to Ctesias *Indica* 5 as to be a match for lions. Cp. Pliny, *H. N.* 7. 2. 13. A great number accompanied the army of Xerxes, vii. 187. Models of dogs inscribed with their names are often found among Babylonian ruins (Rawlinson).

CHAPTER CXCIII.

2. ὀλίγω, instrumental dative (Bähr), cp. iv. 31 τὰ κατύπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρης αἰεὶ νίφεται, ἐλάσσουσι δὲ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος. In Babylonia rain falls frequently though never very heavily from November to February, but is almost unknown in the summer, hence the need of irrigation.

6. κηλωνήοισι 'hand-swipes.' The κηλωνήιον was a swing-beam working on a pivot with a bucket (γαυλός, vi. 119) at one end balanced by a weight at the other. The bucket was depressed into the river and when full swung up and round so that its contents could be poured into a cistern and thence distributed over the fields. The machine is represented on the monuments and is still used in Babylonia. (Rawlinson.)

9. πρὸς ἥλιον τὸν χειμερινόν, to the south-east. By the 'winter sun' is meant the place where the sun rises at the winter solstice. Hesychius quotes ἥλιος = ὁ τόπος ἐξ οὗ ὁ ἥλιος ἀνατέλλει. Cp. vii. 70 (Stein). The canal intended is the *Nahr Malcha* which left the Euphrates some 50 miles north of Babylon and ran south-east into the Tigris near its junction with the *Diyalah*.

11. παρ' ὧν κ.τ.λ. The descriptive phrase suggests that the Tigris has not been mentioned before, c. 189, l. 4. See note on c. 170, l. 15.

13. Δήμητρος καρπὸν, a reminiscence of the Homeric Δημήτερος ἀκτῆ.

14. τὰ...ἄλλα δένδρεα not 'the other trees,' corn not being a δένδρον, but 'on the other hand trees.' It is commonly said that δένδρεα is in apposition with τὰ ἄλλα. But even though such may have been the origin of the usage, it can hardly be supposed that the Greek in practice felt this to be the construction. Cp. c. 216, l. 9, and for a somewhat similar idiomatic usage c. 192, l. 9. By τὰ ἄλλα δένδρεα Herod. means the ordinary food-producing trees of Greece. The palms of Mesopotamia he deals with below, l. 26. οὐδὲ...ἀρχὴν, c. 9, l. 6.

17. ἐπεὰν...ἔωυτῆς 'when it yields its best,' ἔωυτῆς depending on ἄριστα, cp. c. 203, l. 4.

21. δένδρον, they grow so large as to deserve the name of trees. 130 Contrast the form δένδρον with δένδρεα above. Herod. also uses δένδρος (neut. accus.) vi. 79, δενδρέων, δένδρεσι.

24. τὰ...ἔχόμενα 'what has already been said in connexion with yields.'

25. ἀπίκται, i.e. on former occasions when he has mentioned the facts in conversation. Herod. knows by experience that people disbelieve his story.

26. ποιεύντες, sc. χρέωνται 'they use no olive oil but only what they make of sesame.' The seeds of the sesame plant contain large quantities of a colourless tasteless oil, like olive oil, which is still largely used in oriental countries.

28. καρποφόροι. Palm-trees very rarely ripen their dates in Greece and the Greek islands. Cp. Frazer's note on Paus. IX. 19. 8. οἶνον, made by fermentation from the juice. μέλι, thick unfermented syrup. For a similar use of μέλι cp. iv. 194, vii. 31.

29. συκῶν τρόπον. The so-called wild fig (*ἐρινεός, caprificus*), which bears inedible fruit, and the cultivated fig (*συκῆ, ficus*) stand in the relation of male and female one to the other. Wasps developed from eggs deposited within the fruit, or rather the fleshy inflorescence, of the wild fig on making their escape convey the pollen to the cultivated variety, thus bringing about fertilisation and the consequent ripening of the fig, which would otherwise drop off. The process (Lat. *caprificatio*) which Herod. here has in mind consists in hanging the matured fruit of the wild fig on the branches of the cultivated kind. The wasps laden with pollen from the former enter the latter and cause them to ripen. Cp. Aristotle, *H. A.* v. 32.

30. τοὺς relative, 'the fruit of the palms which the Greeks call male they tie on the date-bearing kind.'

32. σφι possess. dat., 'their gallfly,' i.e. the gallfly in the male inflorescence. Herodotus' statement about the part played by insects in the fertilisation of Babylonian palms has been doubted. Theophrastus omits all reference to insects; 'when the male is in flower they cut off the flowering spathe and shake the pollen on the fruit of the female,' *Hist. Plant.* II. 8. 4. Modern travellers agree with Theophrastus. Herodotus' account, if true at all, can only be true of certain species of palm.

35. ὄλονθοι. Attic ὄλονθοι, = ἐρινεοί.

CHAPTER CXCIV.

5. πάντα σκύτινα, c. 179, l. 14, 'all of leather,' at least on the outside.

8. ἐδάφειος τρόπον 'as a hull.'

9. ἀποκρίνοντες 'keeping apart,' i.e. 'broadening' the stern. συνάγοντες 'narrowing.' Similar boats appear on the Nineveh

sculptures and under the name of *kufas* are still used on the Euphrates and Tigris.

10. **καλάμης**, for packing the cargo (Woods).

13. **βίκους φοινικηίους** 'palm wood casks.' The word *βίκος* is 131
Semitic. **οίνου**, grape wine, not palm wine, as Valla reading *φοινικηίου*
against the mss. maintained; for palms do not grow in Armenia. The
wine can hardly have come from so far north as Armenia, but vines grow
well in Assyria. **ιθύνεται**. The paddles (*πλήκτρα*) are used for steering
only, the current itself being strong enough to carry the boat down
stream.

15. **ὁ μὲν κ.τ.λ.** 'one of them pulls his paddle inwards, i.e. towards
himself, the other pushes his outwards, i.e. away from himself.' The
two steersmen are on opposite sides of the boat and keep it straight by
pulling and backing water as occasion demands. Macaulay takes *ἔσω*
and *ἔξω* with *ὁ μὲν* and *ὁ δέ* and thinks the "inside steersman" is the
one nearer the river bank. 'The current would naturally run faster on
the "outside" and consequently would tend to turn the boat round.'
But there is nothing to show that the boat kept closer to one bank than
to the other.

16. **καί** 'both,' not to be joined with *κάρτα*.

18. **πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων**, about 130 tons. See note on c.
14, l. 9.

22. **ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν** 'promptly sell by auction.' Cp. iv. 60
βρόχῳ περι ὧν ἔβαλε τὸν αὐχένα 'promptly slips its neck in a halter.'
The aorist is frequently used in Herod. to express habitual actions
performed with promptness and decision. For a similar gnomic aorist
with *ῶν* cp. c. 132, l. 14 and for the tmesis c. 66, l. 4. The practice
described by Herod. still survives.

"When the rafts have been unloaded they are broken up and the
beams, wood and twigs are sold at a considerable profit...The skins
are brought back either upon the shoulders of the raftmen, or upon
donkeys to Mosul or Tekrit, where the men employed in the navigation
usually reside." Layard's *Nineveh*, Part I. ch. XIII. (quoted by
Rawlinson).

CHAPTER CXCv.

3. **ἐπενδύνει**, for the change of number cp. c. 132, l. 6; c. 216, l. 8.

4. **περιβαλλόμενος**, an afterthought, 'which he throws round him.'
The *κιθῶν ποδηνεκῆς* and the *χλαμίδιον* are distinguishable on the
cylinders. They were often elaborately flounced.

5. τῆσι Β. ἐμβάσι. Dicaearchus (*Perieg.* 19) describes the footgear of the Theban women as a plain low sandal, red in colour, which except for the laces uniting its edges left the upper part of the foot bare.

6. μίτρησι, fillets or turbans of which there were several fashions.

7. σφρηγίδα. Babylonian seals are cylindrical in shape, generally about an inch long, and made of various kinds of hard stone. Holes were pierced through the length of the seals to enable them to be carried on a string. Sometimes the figure of the owner was engraved on the seal together with his own and his father's name. Sometimes a representation of the god whom he worshipped was added. More elaborate seals are engraved with battle scenes, mythological episodes, religious ceremonies etc. The oldest examples date from about 4000 B.C. They were used for sealing contracts etc., and were rolled over the moist clay of the tablet on which the contract was written.

CHAPTER CXCVI.

132 6. ὡς ἄν...γινόιατο 'when the maidens grew ripe for marriage.' ἄν is unusual, the regular formula being ὡς ἄν γίνωνται (present), ὡς γίνοντο (past), cp. ll. 7, 18. It is perhaps an epic survival. Cp. *Il.* IX. 524 ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἴκοι, *Od.* IV. 222 ἐπὶν κρητῆρι μιγείη. In Attic expressions like ὡς ἄν γίνοντο, if the MSS. can be trusted, are sometimes found in indirect discourse, representing original ὡς ἄν γίνωνται. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 702. The present use must not be confused with that noted in c. 110, l. 17.

9. κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην, c. 9, l. 12.

13. ἐπὶ συνοικίῃσι 'for marriage.' They were not sold as mere slaves.

14. εὐδαίμονες, part of the subject. ἐπίγαμοι predicate.

16. οὗτοι δὲ, c. 185, l. 2. Cp. note on c. 184, l. 7.

17. οἱ δ', c. 17, l. 9. ἄν...ἐλάμβανον iterative, 'would take.'

21. ὅστις θέλοι indirect question, 'asking who....'

23. τὸ δὲ ἄν κ.τ.λ. 'and the gold would come....' The position of ἄν between article and substantive is noticeable, cp. note on c. 1, l. 20.

25. ἐξεδίδουσαν 'gave in marriage,' i.e. 'provided dowries for.'

133 33. οὐ μέντοι κ.τ.λ. Yet Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus (B.C. 14) mention the custom as still surviving (Rawlinson).

34. ἵνα μὴ κ.τ.λ. 'in order that the men might not misuse them or take them away (ἄγονται middle) to another city.' The words are very unsatisfactory, the real reason for the change of practice being given in βίον σπανίζων l. 36. Stein regards the words as originally a marginal note on l. 28. This accounts for ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοίεν, certainly the

object of the *ἐγγυηταί*, but hardly squares with *μηδ' ἐς ἐτέρην κ.τ.λ.*, for men were not forbidden to buy girls from distant villages, l. 31.

CHAPTER CXCVII.

9. *σφι*. It is safer to take this as a plural and to assume a change of number in *ἐπείρηται* (cp. ll. 2, 4 above, c. 195, l. 3) than to assign it an exceptional singular sense, c. 185, l. 9 note.

CHAPTER CXCVIII.

2. *ἐν μέλιτι*. *κηρῶ περιπλάσαντες* adds Strabo 746. Cp. c. 140, l. 7. *θρήνοι*. In Egypt the women plastered their heads and faces with mud and wandered about the city beating their bare breasts. The men behaved in a similar way. II. 85.

CHAPTER CXCIX.

6. *ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρησι*, i.e. in a closed carriage and pair. 134
καμάρη = ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης σκηνή.

9. *στέφανον...θώμιγγος* 'a wreath of cord.'

11. *σχοινοτενέες*, c. 189, l. 17, but here perhaps literal. The women were probably penned in roped enclosures. The man on making his choice had apparently to break the rope. *Baruch* vi. 43.

12. *ὀδῶν* awkward and perhaps an interpolation due to a marginal note *ὀδόν* explaining *τρόπον* in the sense of direction, cp. c. 189, l. 19. *ἔχουσι* intransitive 'lead,' c. 180, l. 12.

16. *ἐπικαλέω* κ.τ.λ. 'The blessing of the goddess be upon you,' *τοι* being dative of advantage. Others less well translate 'I invoke the goddess *against* you,'—in the event of disobedience. But no threats were necessary, *Baruch* vi. 43.

19. *ὅσον ὦν* 'of any value,' 'however small.'

21. *ἀποδοκιμῆ*, probably future, c. 97, l. 5. Cp. *διασκεδᾶς* viii. 68.

24. *λάμψαι*, Ionic fut. of *λαμβάνω*. Cp. *λάμψεσθαι* ix. 108, *λαμφθείσαι* vi. 92.

25. *ἐπαμμέναι* lit. 'having attained to,' cp. viii. 105 *εἶδος ἐπαμμένους*.

29. *ἐνιαχῆ*, in the Phoenician colonies of Amathus, Paphos etc. For a discussion of the rite at the temple of Mylitta see Sidney Hartland in *Anthropological Essays*, p. 189.

CHAPTER CC.

- 135 2. **πατριαί** 'clans,' Attic *φρατρίαί*. Cp. *φρήτην*, c. 125, l. 15.
 5. **σῶσι** 'sift,' a present which seems to occur only here, usually *σῆθω*. An older **σσω* occurs in Attic *διαττᾶν* with *ττ* for *σσ*, cp. Smyth, *Ion. Dial.* § 369.
 6. **ἄτε μᾶζαν μαξάμενος** 'having kneaded them as it were into a cake.' For *ἄτε* οἱ comparison cp. c. 123, l. 20. The *μᾶζα* would be unbaked. **ὁ δέ**, the antithesis of *ὅς μὲν ἂν βούληται*. This practice probably belonged to the inhabitants of the marshes at the mouth of the Euphrates.

CHAPTER CCI.

4. **πρὸς...ἀνατολάς**, iv. 44, vii. 58, a similar pleonasm in c. 204,
 l. 3. Such phrases are modelled on the Homeric *πρὸς ἧῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε*.
 5. **ἀντίον** 'over against,' i.e. bordering upon.
 6. **Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν**, an epic collocation. Stein suggests that Herod. found it in the *Arimaspea* of Aristeas from which he borrowed his account of the Issedones, iv. 13—16. Cp. *Ἀριμασποῦς ἀνδρας*, iv. 13.
 7. **τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος**, the Massagetae who Herod. himself says dressed and lived like the Scythians, c. 215, l. 1. **εἰσὶ κ.τ.λ.** includes Hecataeus.

CHAPTER CCII.

1. **καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων**, that is to say people give different accounts of its size.
 3. **μεγάθεα**, with plural substantives quite common in Herod., cp. iii. 107, *ὄφεις ὑπόπτεροι σμικροὶ τὰ μεγάθεα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἶδεα*.
 4. **μὲν** strictly should go with *τὸ θέρος*, c. 149, l. 8. After *παντοίας* the relative construction is dropped and the following words depend on *φασί*.
 6. **ἐς φορβήν** with *ἐξευρημένους* 'discovered by them for food.'
 9. **τοὺς κ.τ.λ.** explaining *τοιούσδε τινάς*, cp. c. 203, l. 10. For the infinitive *ἐπιβάλλειν* in a relative clause cp. c. 24, l. 31 note. There can be little doubt that the plant in question is *cannabis sativa* or Indian hemp, which is a native of the Caspian district, frequently grows to a large size (*δένδρεα*) and bears leaves and fruit (*καρπούς*) possessing strong narcotic properties, which produce physiological effects exactly similar to those described by Herod. Cp. iv. 75 for the use of *κάνναβις* by the Scythians, who *ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρίῃ ὠρύνται*.

11. **καταγιζόμενου** 'as it burns.' The word here has no sacrificial idea. Cp. c. 126, l. 10. 136

18. **τὰς διώρυχας**, c. 189, l. 17. The limits assigned by Herod. to the territory of the Matieni are very elastic. The source of the Araxes in Armenia is at least 350 miles north-west of that of the Gyndes in the Zagros range.

23. **φωκέων**. Seals are still the most valuable product of the Caspian.

24. **διὰ καθαροῦ**, in a clear course uninterrupted by swamps and shallows.

From c. 205 where Herod. makes the Araxes the southern boundary of the Massagetae who lived *east* of the Caspian, it is clear that he has confused the Araxes and the Oxus. Though the Oxus now flows into the Sea of Aral, in ancient times one at least of its mouths opened into the Caspian, and this may perhaps be τὸ ἐν τῶν στομάτων of l. 23. In any case the great marshes and islands of the Herodotean Araxes agree better with the physical features of the lower Oxus basin than with those of the far smaller Armenian river. Cp. H. G. Ind.

26. **ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς** 'self-contained,' c. 142, l. 21. Herodotus' opinion was generally rejected by ancient geographers who held that the Caspian was connected with the Northern Ocean or the Palus Maeotis. The true view was finally reestablished by Ptolemy (c. 150 A.D.).

27. **τὴν...πᾶσα**, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.

28. **στηλέων**, the Pillars of Hercules or Straits of Gibraltar. Stein's insertion of Ἡρακλέων is uncalled for. Woods well remarks, "The omission of the article shews that the name was a well-known one." Cp. c. 192, l. 12. The justification for Herodotus' belief in the unity of the Atlantic and the Erythraean Sea was the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phoenicians in the time of Neco king of Egypt (c. 600 B.C.), iv. 42.

CHAPTER CCIII.

2. **ἰούσα κ.τ.λ.** lit. 'being in length of a voyage of 15 days for one using oars.' Referring to the Red Sea he says, ii. 11, **μῆκος μὲν πλόου ἀρξάμενψ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλώσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέαν θάλασσαν ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται τεσσαεράκοντα εἰρεσίη χρεωμένψ.** The Red Sea is about 1400 miles long, which gives a speed of 35 miles a day. To cross the Caspian at this rate from north to south and from east to west would require about 20 and 9 days respectively. Herod. clearly under-

estimates the size of the Caspian, though the ratio of length to breadth 15 : 8 is more or less correctly given. (In iv. 86 an average day's *sail* is given as 70,000 ὄργυιαι or about 80 miles.)

3. εὐρυτάτη αὐτῆ ἑωυτῆς, cp. c. 193, l. 17.

4. τὰ μὲν...φέροντα, probably adverbial accus., as παρατείνει in this sense does not govern the accus., 'on the side towards the west of this sea the Caucasus runs along by it.'

6. ἐὼν attracted into the gender of ὀρέων. πλήθει 'in extent.'

7. ὑψηλότατον. Mt Elburz is over 18,000 feet high. Herod. did not know of *Mt Demavend*, 19,400 ft, south of the Caspian, or the Himalayas. ἔθνεα κ.τ.λ. "The Caucasus has always been famous as the last refuge of numerous different races and languages which have become extinct elsewhere. Mithradates knew 24 languages spoken by his subjects, and Pliny (*N. H.* vi. 5) states that in Colchis there were more than 300 tribes speaking different languages." Sayce.

8. τὰ πολλὰ, limiting πάντα, 'all for the most part,' 'almost all.'
ii. 35, the Egyptians τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἥθεα 'customs almost all contrary to those of other men.' Cp. v. 67. ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίας 'on the wild fruits of the forest.' (Rawlinson.)

137 10. τοιῆσδε...τὰ...ἐγγράφειν, cp. c. 202, l. 9 notes. The dye used was in all probability madder, the ἐρευθέδανον employed by the Libyans, iv. 189.

11. ζῶα, cp. c. 70, l. 5 note.

CHAPTER CCIV.

4. ἐκδέκεται 'comes next,' absolute as in iv. 39 ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη ἢ Ἀσσυρίη: iv. 99.

9. τὸ δοκέειν, explanatory of ἡ γένεσις 'the opinion that he was something more than a man.' Cp. c. 122, l. 14.

11. ἰθύσειε epic, cp. *Od.* xi. 591. Herod. uses it twice again with στρατεύεσθαι, iii. 39, vii. 8.

CHAPTER CCV.

4. ἐμνάτο τῷ λόγῳ 'pretended to woo.' ἦν the sole example of ὄς=*simus* in Herod. Most editors accordingly bracket θέλων...ἔχειν. Cobet reads μιν for ἦν.

10. **διάβασιν** in appos. with *γεφύρας* 'for his army to cross upon.' The plural *γεφύρας* possibly denotes a single bridge with a number of spans.

11. **πλοίων** the 'ferry boats' were stationary pontoons carrying a roadway. The towers were to secure the bridge against capture.

CHAPTER CCVI.

3. **βασιλεὺ Μήδων** of the king of Persia. Cp. H. G. Ind. *art.* Μήδοι.

7. **οὐκ ᾶν...σὺ δὲ**, cp. note on c. 11, l. 17. We should probably read *δὴ* with Stein.

8. **πάντα**. Most MSS. have *πάντως* which cannot be translated 'to be anyhow rather than quiet,' for *πάντως* never has this sense.

εἰ. The best MSS. have the incorrect *ἦν...προθυμείαι*.

10. **σὺ δὲ**. There is no opposition of subject, cp. c. 17, l. 9.

18. **συνεξέπιπτον** 'agreed together.' The metaphor appears to be from shaking voting tablets out of an urn. Cp. viii. 49.

CHAPTER CCVII.

4. **καὶ πρότερον**, c. 89, l. 4. Croesus' speech is divided into two parts (1) ll. 3—13 a solemn warning against presumption, cp. c. 204, l. 7, (2) ll. 13 to end, highly practical military advice. The two sections, as Stein points out, do not harmonize very happily. Note the studied and rhetorical character of the whole speech.

6. **ἀποτρέψειν**, anacoluthic after *ὅτι* which should introduce the fut. indic. or fut. optat. Cp. iii. 32 *φασί...ὡς τὴν γυναῖκα περιτίλαι*, iv. 179 *τὸν πάντα λόγον ὡς...οικῆσαι*. Such sporadic irregularities or ungrammaticalisms are not to be elevated into the rank of a usage. **παθήματα...μαθήματα**. The assonance is intentional. For the doctrine cp. Aesch. *Ag.* 177 *Ζῆνα...τὸν πάθει μάθος θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν*. Contrast the formula *δράσαντι παθεῖν*, *Chor.* 313, embodying the older retributive view of suffering.

8. **τοιαύτης**, sc. *ἀθανάτου*, cp. c. 120, l. 36. **οὐδεν ᾶν κ.τ.λ.**, c. 79, l. 4.

11. **κύκλος**. For the sentiment see c. 5, l. 18. It became a commonplace, Arist. *Phys.* 223 b, 24. Tac. *Ann.* III. 55 *rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis*.

13. ἤδη ὦν, applying the general doctrine to the particular case. 'Your good fortune will probably soon come to an end, therefore take the advice which promises least risk,' is briefly the argument.

19. ἀρχὰς 'provinces,' c. 192, l. 11. νικᾶς, vivid present for future, cp. προσπολλύεις above. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 32.

22. ἐκείνω is the supposition that the Massagetæ if victorious will invade Cyrus' dominions, l. 18. ὅτι νικήσας κ.τ.λ. is explanatory of τῶντό.

23. ἀπηγημένου passive (ἀφηγέομαι) 'what has been stated.' Cp. ix. 26.

30. τῶν προβάτων πολλά 'many of our cattle.'

32. προθεῖναι dependent on δοκέει, l. 26.

38. τε should properly follow κείνοι.

CHAPTER CCVIII.

140 1. συνέστασαν, of hostile opposition, c. 214, l. 11. 'These were the opinions at issue,' cp. iv. 132.

5. κατὰ = Attic καθ' ἃ. Cp. κατάπερ.

7. ἐδίδου 'intended to give,' c. 68, l. 27. Before starting on an expedition the king of Persia had to nominate a successor or at least a viceroy. See vii. 2 with Macan's note.

10. ἐς Πέρσας 'to Persia,' c. 210, l. 13. See H. G. Ind. for the subsequent history of Croesus.

CHAPTER CCIX.

7. ἐπισκιάζειν, infin. in indirect discourse, different from the participial construction, 'saw him with wings on his shoulders and that he overshadowed.' Cp. l. 21, Thuc. VIII. 60 ἐώρων οὐκέτι ἄνευ ναυμαχίας οἶόν τε εἶναι ἐς τὴν Χίον βοηθῆσαι.

11. ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. Acc. to Xen. *Cyr.* I. 2. 13 the age of military service with the Persians was from about 25 to 50.

18. ἤδη ὦν, parallel to the use in c. 207, l. 13.

141 21. ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιμος ταύτης 'in consequence of this vision.' μὴ: μὴ οὐ would be more regular, as in ii. 181. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 814.

25. ὡς repeats ὅπως. So in iii. 71, ix. 6 ὡς resumes a previous ὅτι. (Stein.)

CHAPTER CCX.

2. τῷ δὲ, i.e. to Cyrus, c. 17, l. 9. ὁ δαίμων 'Heaven,' not any particular divinity, cp. ὁ θεός, c. 105, l. 15 note.

6. ἐπιβουλεύσει. Krüger's ἐπιβουλεύσειε (optative by assimilation, Goodwin, *M. T.* § 558) is accepted by many editors without any cogent reason.

7. ὅς, *quippe qui* 'seeing that thou.'

8. ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι 'instead of being ruled.' The substantival infinitive is very seldom found after a preposition without the article. Two other cases occur in Herod., both after ἀντί, vi. 32, vii. 170. Goodwin, *M. T.* § 803.

CHAPTER CCXI.

3. τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ, the sound, effective part of the troops, in iv. 35 opposed to οἱ ἀσθενέες. This is probably the meaning in Thuc. v. 8 τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὅπερ ἐστράτευε καθαρὸν ἐξῆλθε καὶ Λημνίων καὶ Ἰμβρίων τὸ κράτιστον.

7. ἀλεξομένους 'in spite of their resistance.'

14. Σπαργαπίσης. Scythian princes called Σπαργαπίθης are mentioned in iv. 76, 78.

CHAPTER CCXII.

6. ὥστε κ.τ.λ. 'so that as the wine flows down into your bodies, evil words float up thereupon.' ἐπ- in ἐπαναπλέειν means either 'on the stream of wine' or simply 'thereafter,' as in ἐπακολουθῶ.

9. κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν, cp. c. 76, l. 16.

12. κατυβρίσας. This verb normally takes the accus., sometimes the genit. For the dat. cp. the construction of καταγελάω, iii. 37, 38, 155. So λυμαίνεσθαι with dat., c. 214, l. 19.

13. οὐ. Some MSS. have εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα σὺ ποιήσεις due perhaps to the misreading of οὐ as σύ and the consequent insertion of μὴ for sense. οὐ should stand, cp. vi. 9 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσουσι. With εἰ and the indicative the negative οὐ is used in Homer when the clause with εἰ precedes the principal clause (Monro, *H. G.* § 359). Cp. *Il.* xxiv. 296 εἰ δέ τοι οὐ δώσει ἐὼν ἄγγελον εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς, | οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε...κελοίμην. It is hardly fair to say that here οὐ ποιήσεις forms a single negative expression, as is the case with οὐκ ἔάω, οὐ φημί. Rather regard it as an epic survival.

CHAPTER CCXIII.

3. ὡς μιν κ.τ.λ. The natural order would be ὡς ὃ τε οἶνός μιν ἀνῆκε. Herod. is careless about the position of personal pronouns, cp. c. 115, l. 10 note; c. 204, l. 7.

4. ἀνῆκε 'let him go,' an epic reminiscence. ἐμέ δὲ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν, *Il.* II. 71 etc.

CHAPTER CCXIV.

- 143 2. οἱ, ἐσήκουσε here takes the constr. of πείθεσθαι, cp. vi. 86 end.
4. ὄσαι, sc. πασέων as antecedent, depending on ἰσχυροτάτην.
10. συνέχεσθαι 'engaged in close conflict,' an exceptional sense. Hesychius explains by συμπλέκεσθαι.
15. τὰ πάντα 'in all.' Contrast c. 163, l. 9. 529 B.C. is fixed by the monuments as the year of Cyrus' death.
20. σὺ μὲν κ.τ.λ. 'though I live and am thy conqueror in battle thou didst ruin me,' cp. c. 45, l. 7. It is perhaps tempting to translate ἀπώλεσας by a perfect. Not that the Greek aorist is really identical in sense with our perfect, but English like other modern European languages is far more prone to look at a past occurrence as a completed result than the classical languages.
22. τὰ μὲν δὴ κ.τ.λ. The sentence would naturally end ᾧ δέ μοι πιθανώτατα εἴρηται (Stein), but the words πολλῶν...λεγομένων after the manner of parentheses sadly upset the grammar and lead to the introduction of a new subject.
23. πολλῶν λόγων. Diodorus II. 44 says that he was taken prisoner and crucified by the queen of the Scythians, Ctesias (*Pers.* 6) that he was wounded in an expedition against the Derbices on the borders of India and died three days after, Xenophon (*Cyr.* VIII. 7) that he died peacefully in his bed. There can be little doubt that he fell in battle. Xenophon's story of his end is too edifying to be historical.

The tomb of Cyrus was seen at Pasargadae by Alexander's companion Aristobulus (Arrian VI. 29) and is in all probability identical with a large and beautiful tomb still existing at *Murgab* (the ancient Pasargadae, in spite of Prof. Sayce on c. 124) and encircled with pillars inscribed 'I am Cyrus, the king, the Achaemenian.' For a discussion of the question see Prof. A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia* p. 203, who has no doubt about the identification.

CHAPTER CCXV.

3. ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι 'for they adopt both practices.'

4. σαγάρης 'battleaxes,' characteristically Scythian, iv. 5, 70, vii. 64.

5. τὰ πάντα accus. of reference 'for everything.' ὅσα μὲν γὰρ, sc. ἐστί, 'for in everything that is concerned with...they use.'

7. ὅσα περὶ κεφαλῆν, sc. ἐστί, 'their headdresses,' equivalent to a single substantive coordinate with ζωστῆρας. The Scythian headdress was an upright sharply pointed cap, vii. 64.

9. τὰ μὲν adverbial 'on the one hand.' (It cannot be taken closely with περὶ τὰ στέρνα, lit. 'the parts about the chest,' cp. l. 7, for περιβάλλειν, active, seems never to govern a double accusative.)

10. τὰ δέ, if the text is sound, must be construed with περὶ τοὺς χαλινούς, cp. last note, περιβάλλουσι thus having in the second half of the sentence its common construction of accus. and dative. But the sentence reads very awkwardly. The omission of περὶ before τοὺς χαλινούς (Stein) would simplify matters.

12. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ. The same emphatic negation in iv. 16 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Ἀριστέης...οὐδὲ οὗτος. Cp. c. 49, l. 5.

13. χρυσός. Gold is found abundantly in the Ural and Altai mountains. Altai is in fact said to mean golden. The grave-mounds of the steppes frequently contain gold vessels. They show too that the Scythians were a Bronze Age people, who knew nothing of iron.

CHAPTER CCXVI.

4. ἐπιθυμήση. For the omission of ἄν in a relative condition see Goodwin, *M. T.* § 540. Outside Herod. the usage is mainly poetical. Cp. iv. 46.

6. πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης. They were nomads, ἀμαξόβιοι, Porph. *De Abst.* iii. 15. Cp. iv. 121.

7. ἄλλος μὲν οὐδέίς, no other than the following. With the Massagetæ the limit of a man's life was not the traditional three score and ten years (c. 32, l. 9) but depended on the discretion of his relatives who slew him and ate him when they thought he had lived long enough. So among the Indian Padaei when a man fell sick his friends killed him saying that 'he was wasting away with the disease and his flesh was being spoilt for them,' iii. 99.

8. **γένηται**, sc. *Μασσαγαρέων τις*. Cp. c. 195, l. 3 for the change from plural (*σφι*) to sing.

9. **θύουσι** 'solemnly slaughter' (Macaulay). Cp. c. 126, l. 10 note; c. 202, l. 11. **καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα** 'and sheep besides.' Cp. c. 193,

l. 14. Herod. attributes the same custom to the Issedones, iv. 26.

15. **οἱ δὲ** 'and the fish.'

17. **νόμος**, altered by most editors after Krüger to *νόος*, cp. Arrian, *Anab.* I. 11. 5 *ὁ νόος τῆς θυσίας ἦν κ.τ.λ.* But *νόμος* 'custom, rule' may surely stand. Horses were sacrificed to the sun by the Iranians and Armenians (Xen. *Cyr.* VIII. 3. 24, *Anab.* IV. 5. 35).

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

"Αβαι, c. 46.

A city in the north-east corner of Phocis near the frontiers of Boeotia and Locris. It was situated upon a high rocky hill overlooking a tributary of the Cephissus. Its oracle of Apollo, reputed to be older than that of Delphi [Steph. Byzant. s.v. "Αβαι], was consulted by Croesus, by the Persian Mardonius [viii. 134], and by the Thebans before the battle of Leuctra [Paus. iv. 32, 5]. The wealthy temple attached to the oracle was burnt by the army of Xerxes in its march through Phocis (B.C. 480), and again by the Thebans during the Sacred War (B.C. 347), because a party of defeated Phocians had taken refuge there [Paus. x. 35, 3]. A smaller temple was built by the Emperor Hadrian near the remains of the old one.

"Αβαντες, c. 146.

The Abantes, according to Aristotle [vide Strabo x. p. 445], were originally a Thracian tribe who from their settlement in the Phocian town of Abae migrated to Euboea, where they dwelt in Homeric times [*I.* ii. 536]. From Euboea part of them passed over into Chios.

"Αβδηρα, c. 168.

A town on the south coast of Thrace to the east of the river Nestus, founded (B.C. 654) by Timesius of Clazomenae, who was promptly expelled by the Thracians; and refounded about B.C. 545 by the people of Teos after the capture of their city by Cyrus' general, Harpagus. It became a place of some importance and was one of the towns which entertained Xerxes on his march into Greece. In B.C. 408 it was captured by the Athenians under Thrasybulus. In B.C. 376 it suffered severely at the hands of the Triballi, and from that time its prestige began to decline. Though the birthplace of the philosophers Protagoras, Democritus and Anaxarchus, it was proverbial for the stupidity of its inhabitants [Juvenal, x. 50; Martial, x. 25, 4].

*Αγαμεμνονιδης, c. 67.

Son of Agamemnon, i.e. Orestes (q.v.).

'Αγαμέμνων, c. 67.

King of Mycenae and leader of the Greek host against Troy.

'Αγασικλής, c. 144.

A citizen of Halicarnassus.

'Αγβάτανα, cc. 98, 110, 153.

Called in ancient Persian inscriptions Hagmatāna, 'meeting place,' from *ham* 'together,' *gam* 'go.' The old name survives in the modern Hamadan, a town of considerable importance at the foot of Mt Elwund (called *Orontes* by the Greeks). "It is still the meeting place of as many highways as when it was the Median capital" (Prof. A. V. W. Jackson's *Persia*, p. 150). There is evidence that it existed as early as B.C. 1100, a place Amadana being mentioned in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser. Ctesias dates it back to Semiramis. The Musallah or citadel of Hamadan is the hill upon which Deioces' palace was built. "There is room for the seven circles of walls, and the Median people could have "built their houses round about outside the walls," as Deioces bade them, on the very site still occupied by the city' (Jackson, *loc. cit.*). Sir Henry Rawlinson placed the site of Agbatana at Takht-i-Suliman, i.e. Solomon's Throne, a ruined city some 120 miles N.W. of Hamadan, but Prof. Jackson's researches are conclusive in favour of the traditional site. Agbatana is the Achmetha of Ezra vi. 2, where 'in the palace that is in the province of the Medes,' the roll was found containing Cyrus' decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem. It was the summer residence of the Achaemenian kings.

"Αγρων, c. 7.

A mythical king of Lydia, son of Ninus and founder of the so-called Heracleid dynasty.

'Αγυλλαιοι, c. 167.

The inhabitants of Agylla, later called Caere, an important city of southern Etruria about five miles from the sea-coast. Agylla was a Pelasgian foundation and changed its name after its conquest by the Tyrrhenians or Etruscans [Strabo, v. p. 220].

"Αδρηστος, cc. 35, 41—45.

A Phrygian, son of king Gordias, who accidentally slew his own brother and was purified by Croesus from the guilt of murder. Afterwards he was entrusted with the care of Croesus' son Atys during the hunt of the Mysian boar. Still dogged by fate, he became the unwilling instrument of Atys' death, and though forgiven by Croesus, slew himself at his victim's tomb.

'Αδρίης (ὀ), c. 163.

The Adriatic Sea, so named from Adria, a town near the mouth of the Po, once on the coast but now some distance inland. Herodotus knew that the *Ἐνετοί* (Venetians) dwelt to the north of it [v. 9] and says [i. 163] that its navigation was opened up by the Phocaeans.

Ἀθῆναι, cc. 60, 64, 98, 143, 146, 147, 173. **Ἀθηναῖος**, **Ἀθηναῖοι**, cc. 29, 30, 32, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62—65, 86, 143.

The principal events in the history of Athens alluded to in Book i. are its share in the colonisation of Asia Minor [cc. 146, 147, 173], its war with Megara [cc. 30, 59], the legislation of Solon [c. 29], and the quarrel between the rival factions of the Parali and the Pedieis with its issue in the successive usurpations of Peisistratus [cc. 59—64]. The Athenians are described as the pre-eminent Ionian power, though objecting to be called Ionians [cc. 56, 143], and are accounted 'first of the Hellenes in wisdom' [c. 60].

Ἀθηναίη, cc. 19, 22, 60, 62, 66, [92], 160, 175.

Athena, patroness of agriculture and the industrial arts, guardian of civilisation and social order, was worshipped widely in Greece, but especially at Athens which was named after her and of which she was the tutelary goddess. At Athens, the seat of her worship was the Acropolis [c. 60], which contained an ancient temple dedicated to her under the title of Polias, or keeper of the city [v. 82]. So at Chios she was worshipped as *Πολιούχος* [c. 160], and at Tegea as *Ἀλέη*, Protectress [c. 66]. Other seats of her worship mentioned in Book i. are Assesos [cc. 19, 22], the Attic deme or parish of Pallene [c. 62], Delphi [vide *Προνητή* c. 92], and Pedasa [c. 175].

Αἶα, c. 2.

A mythical region of Colchis (q.v.), the home of the Golden Fleece.

Αἶγαι, c. 145.

A city on the coast of Achaea near the mouth of the river Crathis. It probably occupied the site of the modern *Akrata*. Before the beginning of the Christian era it was deserted by its inhabitants who removed to the neighbouring Aegira.

Αἶγαιαί, c. 149.

An Aeolian city of Asia Minor, a few miles inland from Cyme.

Αἶγαιρα, c. 145.

A city in the east of Achaea on a hill overlooking the sea, called Hyperesia in Homeric times [*Il.* ii. 573]. Its later name dated from the time of its occupation by the Ionians. Pausanias [vii. 26, 2, 3] gives an elaborate 'aetiological' myth to explain the origin of the name Goat Town.

Αἶγείος, c. 173.

King of Athens, son of Pandion and brother of Lycus (q.v.), whom he expelled from Athens. He was father of Theseus.

Αἶγιρόεσσα, c. 149.

A city of Aeolis, known only from this passage. See note *ad loc.*

Αἴγυπτος, cc. 1, 2, 5, 30, 77, 105, 140, 193, 198. **Αἰγύπτιοι**, cc. 77, 153, 182. **ἡ Αἰγυπτία**, c. 193.

In c. 1 Egyptian wares are mentioned as part of the cargo of Phoenician traders, and in cc. 2 and 3 Egypt is associated with the legendary adventures of Io. About B.C. 620 a Scythian invasion of Egypt was averted by Psammetichus [c. 105], and later Cyrus meditated an expedition against the country [c. 153]. Shortly after completing his legislation, Solon is said to have visited the court of Amasis [c. 30]. References to Egyptian ritual observances and funeral practices occur in cc. 140, 182 and 198. The importance for agriculture of the annual rising of the Nile is alluded to in c. 193.

Αἰολέες, cc. 6, 26, 28, 141, 149—152, 157, 171. **Αἰολίδες πόλεις**, 149, 151.

The Aeolians, mythically descended from Aeolus, eldest son of Hellen, and according to Greek tradition anciently called Pelasgians [vii. 95], were one of the great divisions of the Hellenic race. Their earliest home was in Thessaly, once named the Aeolian land [vii. 176], whence under pressure from invading Thessalians they migrated to Boeotia. They also dwelt in Aetolia, Locris, Corinth, Elis and Messenia, but their most famous settlements were in the N.W. corner of Asia Minor and the island of Lesbos. The principal Aeolian confederacy on the Asiatic mainland had originally consisted of twelve cities but was deprived of one of its members, Smyrna, by the Ionians [c. 149]. Besides this confederacy, which occupied the country between and around the rivers Hermus and Caicus, there were numerous Aeolian towns in Ida [c. 151]. In the islands, in addition to the five cities of Lesbos, there was an Aeolian colony at Tenedos and another at Hecatonnesi. According to Herodotus the Aeolian territory was more fertile but enjoyed a less equable climate than that of the Ionians. The Asiatic Aeolians were subdued by Croesus and absorbed into the Lydian empire [cc. 6, 26, 28]. Upon the Persian conquest of Lydia they with the Ionians offered submission to Cyrus [c. 141], but as he returned an unfavourable answer to their overtures, applied to Sparta for assistance against him [cc. 151—153]. Their ultimate subjugation by Persia is not specifically described by Herodotus, who merely mentions that they were forced to provide a contingent for service in Harpagus' expedition against the peoples of Asia Minor [c. 171].

Ἀκαρνάν, c. 62.

A native of Acarnania, the most westerly division of Greece, bounded on the east by Aetolia, on the north by the Ambracian Gulf, on the south and west by the Ionian Sea.

Ἀλαλία, cc. 165, 166.

Later called *Aleria*, a town on the east coast of Corsica. It was originally a colony of the Phocaeans, founded about B.C. 564, and after the capture of Phocaea by Harpagus it received a fresh accession of colonists from the mother city. Owing to their piratical practices the

inhabitants became involved in war with the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians and had to abandon their city. See *art.* Φωκαίεες.

Ἄλῆ, c. 66.

'The Refuge' (cp. *Il.* xxii. 301), a title under which Athena was worshipped at Alea, Mantinea, Tegea, and near Sparta on the road to Therapnae [Paus. iii. 19, 7]. Dr Farnell, on the ground that at Tegea her image was grouped with statues of Asclepius and Hygieia, regards her as 'having some relation with the divinities of health' and suggests that 'the title expressed this idea' (*Cults of the Greek States*, vol. i. 275). Another derivation from ἀλέα 'gentle warmth' has led to meteorological speculations upon Athena's connexion with the powers of light.

Ἀλέξανδρος, c. 3.

More commonly called Paris, son of Priam, who carried off Helen from Sparta and thereby brought about the Trojan war.

Ἀλικαρνησός, cc. 144, 175. Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, c. 1.

Halicarnassus, a colony of Troezen in Argolis, was a strongly fortified city of Caria, built on a precipitous rock near the north-west end of the Ceramic Gulf. Originally belonging to the Doric Hexapolis, it was excluded from the confederacy in consequence of a dispute [c. 144]. It subsequently fell under strong Ionic influences, as appears from the dialect of its inscriptions and the Ionic prose of the historian Herodotus, whose birthplace it was. Like the other Greek cities of Asia it became subject to Persia, and its queen Artemisia, who joined the fleet of Xerxes with five ships, particularly distinguished herself at the battle of Salamis. The dynasty of Halicarnassus gradually extended its sway over the whole of Caria. The city was remarkable for its splendid buildings, in particular the Mausoleum, a monument erected (B.C. 350) to the memory of the able and enterprising prince Mausolus by his wife and sister Artemisia. Halicarnassus after a brave resistance was captured and burnt by Alexander the Great (B.C. 334).

Ἀλιάτ, c. 131.

An Arabian goddess corresponding to the Greek Aphrodite and with the god Orotakt involved in the ceremony of the blood covenant described in iii. 8. Al-lat, virgin mother of the gods, was worshipped at Taif, Tabala and elsewhere in Arabia under the emblem of a sacred stone in which she was supposed to dwell. According to Prof. Sayce the name means 'the shining one,' i.e. the morning star. But in the Semitic languages the planet Venus is masculine. Cp. 'Lucifer son of the morning,' Isaiah xiv. 12 (Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*², pp. 57, 210, 212, 316).

Ἀλκαῖος, c. 7.

Son of Heracles by a female slave of Iardanus and ancestor of the Lydian dynasty of the Heracleidae. In the ordinary Greek legend

Alcaeus is son of Perseus, father of Amphitryo and grandfather of Heracles.

Ἀλκίηνωρ, c. 82.

A survivor of the 300 Argive champions who fought with 300 Lacedaemonians for the possession of Thyrea.

Ἀλκμέων, c. 59.

Father of the Megacles who led the faction of the Parali in Peisistratus' time.

Ἀλκμεωνίδαι, cc. 61, 64.

This noble Athenian family traced its descent from Alcmaeon, great-grandson of Nestor. About B.C. 630 the Alcmaeonid Megacles, who was archon at the time, brought upon the family the guilt of sacrilege by his treatment of the Cylonian conspirators. Cylon had seized the Acropolis of Athens during the Olympic games with the intention of making himself tyrant. He was blockaded in the citadel by Megacles, and when the garrison was reduced to great straits by hunger and thirst, basely deserted his comrades, who were soon unable to offer any further resistance and betook themselves as suppliants to the temple of Athena. Obtaining a promise that their lives should be spared, they were induced to leave the citadel, but Megacles had them all put to death, including some who had fled for refuge to the altar of the Eumenides. Pestilence and famine followed, which the Athenians attributed to blood-guiltiness consequent upon the conduct of Megacles. The expulsion of the guilty was demanded, and after a judicial trial the whole family of the Alcmaeonidae was banished from Athens, even the bones of those who had died in the meantime being removed. In B.C. 560 the Alcmaeonidae were back in Attica, Megacles (q.v.), leader of the Parali, alternately assisting and opposing Peisistratus. But about B.C. 538 when Peisistratus finally established his power in Athens, they again retired into exile and the tyrant caused their houses to be razed to the ground. However they had powerful friends among the Spartans who hated the dynasty of Peisistratus, and also at Delphi where they had restored the temple of Apollo after its destruction by fire in B.C. 548 with a magnificence far exceeding what their contract demanded of them. The Pythia constantly urged the restoration of the exiled family with the result that in B.C. 510 the Spartans by expelling the tyrant Hippias enabled the Alcmaeonidae to return to Athens. Cleisthenes, the leader of the restored exiles, put the Athenian constitution upon a democratic basis. It was a common political device for the enemies of the Alcmaeonidae to rake up the charge of blood-guiltiness and demand the banishment of the 'pollution' (*τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν*, Thuc. i. 127). The Spartans did this in the case of Cleisthenes, whose democratic reforms did not meet with their approval [Herod. v. 70], and later in the case of Pericles (B.C. 432).

Ἀλυάττης, cc. 6, 16, 18—22, 25, 26, 73, 74, 92, 93.

King of Lydia (about B.C. 610—560), son of Sadyattes and father of Croesus. Inheriting from Sadyattes a war with Miletus, he prosecuted

it for five years, when his army accidentally set fire to the temple of Athena at Assesos. Immediately afterwards he fell sick and consulting the Delphic oracle was told that no advice would be given him till he had rebuilt the temple. He therefore sent to Miletus to arrange a truce but was misled by a stratagem of the inhabitants into concluding a peace. He built two temples to Athena instead of one, recovered from his sickness and in gratitude dedicated a great mixing-bowl of silver at Delphi. Subsequently he drove the Cimmerians out of Asia Minor, captured Smyrna, made an unsuccessful attack upon Clazomenae and carried on war with Cyaxares, king of Media. This war arose from the protection afforded by Alyattes to some Scythians who had injured Cyaxares. After continuing for five years without decisive issue it was terminated by an engagement during which an eclipse of the sun occurred (B.C. 585). Through the mediation of the king of Babylon and Syennesis prince of Cilicia peace was concluded and cemented by the marriage of Alyattes' daughter to Astyages, son of Cyaxares. The tomb of Alyattes [c. 93] was one of the marvels of Lydia.

"**Ἄλυσ**, cc. 6, 28, 72, 75, 103, 130.

The Halys (*Kizil-Irmak* or 'red-river'), the largest river of Asia Minor, rises in the mountains of Armenia Minor. It first flows in a south-westerly direction through Cappadocia (q.v.), but afterwards makes a broad semicircular sweep first to the north-west and then to the north-east, finally debouching into the Euxine between Sinope and Amisus. It was an important political and geographical boundary, forming the eastern limit of the Lydian empire in the time of Croesus and affording a convenient line of demarcation between the western and eastern parts of Asia, which are respectively described as the parts *within* and *without* the Halys [c. 6].

"**Ἀμασις**, cc. 30, 77.

Amasis (Aahmes II.) was king of Egypt from B.C. 569 to B.C. 525. He succeeded Apries, by whom he had been sent to quell an insurrection, but being proclaimed king by the rebels he marched against Apries, defeated him at Momemphis and ascended the throne in his stead [Herod. ii. 161—169]. Amasis showed great friendliness towards the Greeks. He gave them the city of Naucratis, opened the Nile to their commerce, chose a bodyguard of Ionians and Carians and married a Greek lady of Cyrene [ii. 154, 178—181]. He made alliances with Polycrates, tyrant of Samos [iii. 39, 40], and with Croesus king of Lydia [i. 77]. Solon in the course of his travels visited his court [c. 30]. In B.C. 525 his dominions were threatened by Cambyses, but he died before the enemy reached his frontiers after a peaceful and prosperous reign of 44 years. Cambyses disinterred his body and treated it with the grossest indignity.

"**Ἀμμων**, c. 46.

Originally a Libyan deity *Amen*, who as king of the gods was identified with the Greek Zeus. The centre of his worship was the Egyptian Thebes which was thence called Diospolis (cp. c. 182). He

was represented either as a ram or as a human being with the head or sometimes with only the horns of a ram. There appears to be confusion between two Libyan divinities, Amen and Khnoum, the latter alone being properly the ram-headed god (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, note on ii. 42). The famous oracle of Zeus Ammon was in the oasis of El Siwah some 300 miles west of the Nile and 150 from the coast of the Mediterranean.

***Αμφιάρεως, cc. 46, 49, 52, 92.**

Amphiarus took part in the hunt of the Calydonian boar and in the Argonautic expedition. He married Eriphyle, sister of Adrastus, with whom he had previously been at feud. Having sworn that he would abide by her decision in any matter in which he differed from Adrastus, he was obliged against his will to join the latter in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes. Amphiarus acquitted himself bravely, but in the end had to flee before Periclymenus. Ere he was overtaken, the earth smitten by the lightnings of Zeus swallowed him up chariot and all. He was made immortal and henceforward worshipped as a hero. His oracular powers, which he inherited from his ancestor Melampus, he displayed chiefly at his shrine at Oropus. Those who consulted him here had to sacrifice a ram and sleep on its skin, when a communication would be made to them in a dream (Paus. i. 34, 5).

***Αμφίλυτος, c. 62.**

A famous soothsayer, who uttered an oracle in the interest of Peisistratus. He is called an Acarnanian by Herodotus, but Plato [*Theag.* 124 D] and Clement of Alexandria [*Strom.* p. 398 P.] state that he was an Athenian.

***Αναξανδρίδης, c. 67.**

King of Sparta from about 560 to 520 B.C. He was son of Leon and 15th of the Agiad dynasty. He had married his niece, but as she bore him no children and he refused to divorce her, the ephors made him take another wife without divorcing the first, in flagrant violation of Spartan custom. By her he had a son Cleomenes. Soon afterwards his first wife bore him three sons in rapid succession, Dorieus, Leonidas and Cleombrotus [v. 39—41]. In his reign the Spartans brought their war with Tegea to a successful conclusion (B.C. 554) and made an alliance with Croesus.

***Απατούρια, c. 147.**

A festival celebrated by all the Ionians with the exception of the men of Ephesus and Colophon. At this festival which took place at the end of the month Pyanepsion, i.e. in November, and lasted three days, the various phratriæ or clans assembled for the purposes of business and social relaxation. The evening of the first day, *δορπία*, was devoted to supper parties. On the second, *ἀνάρρυσις*, there was a public sacrifice to Zeus Φράτριος and to Athena. On the third, *κουρεῶτις*, children who had not yet been registered in a phratry were presented by their fathers or guardians to the assembled clansmen, and unless any objection on the score of illegitimacy were raised, were admitted members of the phratry with the sacrifice of a sheep or goat. The

proceedings closed with the distribution of wine and the flesh of sacrificial victims and with the recitation of poems by the elder boys. The name *Ἀπατούρια* is equivalent to *ἀ-πατόρια*, a form which actually occurs in an archaic inscription, or rather to *ἀ-πατόρβια* with the digamma. The *a-* denotes union. Cp. *ὁμοπάτωρ, -ορος* (see H. W. Smyth, *Ionian Dialect*, p. 621). So Xenophon describes it as the festival *ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς ξύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς* [*Hellenica*, i. 7, 8]. The Greeks imagined that the name was derived from *ἀπάτη* and invented an elaborate aetiological myth to support this etymology. (Cp. Smith, *Dict. Ant.* art. 'Apaturia.')

Ἀπόλλων, cc. 52, 69, 87, 92, 144.

Son of Zeus and Leto, best known as the sun-god and the god of prophecy, but worshipped under a multitude of different characters and attributes. He was pre-eminently a Dorian deity. The seats of his worship mentioned in this book are Thebes, where he was surnamed *Ἰσμήνιος*, Thornax, Branchidae and Triopion.

Ἀράβιοι, cc. 131, 198.

The inhabitants of Arabia, which in ancient times, as now, was the name of the great peninsula bounded on the west by the Red Sea (*Ἀράβιος κόλπος*), on the east by the Persian Gulf and on the south by the Indian Ocean (*Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα*, q.v.).

Ἀράξης, cc. 201, 202, 205, 209, 211, 216.

The river Araxes, modern *Aras*, rises near *Erzerum* in the central highlands of Armenia. Flowing in a north-easterly direction it joins the Cyrus or *Κίωρ* and enters by many mouths the south-western corner of the Caspian Sea. Herodotus seems to confuse this river with the *Oxus* to the east of the Caspian (see note c. 202), and in iv. 11 he apparently applies the name to the modern Volga. The name may have been given by the natives to several rivers (cp. the English Avon, Derwent, Dee), which Herodotus owing to insufficient geographical knowledge did not clearly distinguish.

Ἀργανθώνιος, cc. 163, 165.

King of Tartessus in the first half of the sixth century B.C. He showed great friendliness to the Phocaeans who visited his city, offered them a settlement in his territory and gave them money to fortify Phocaea. He is said to have reigned 80 and to have lived 120 years.

Ἄργος, cc. 1, 5, 82. **Ἄργολίς**, c. 82. **Ἄργεῖοι**, cc. 31, 61, 82.

Argolis was the north-eastern district of Peloponnesus, its chief town Argos being situated in a plain three miles from the head of the Argolic Gulf. Argos, traditionally founded by Inachus (q.v.), was believed to be the most ancient city in Greece. With Mycenae it formed in Homeric times the most powerful of the Greek states [cp. c. 1]. After the expulsion of its Achaean inhabitants by the Dorian invaders it still continued the first state in the Peloponnesus, possessing the whole of the eastern seaboard as far as Cape Malea together with the island

of Cythera. But it soon came into collision with Sparta, and the rival claims of the two states to the district of Cynuria or Thyreatis were the source of constant wars. In B.C. 669 the Argives gained an important victory over the Spartans near Hysiae [Paus. ii. 24, 7], but about B.C. 546 lost the disputed territory after the memorable contest of the 300 Argive and the 300 Spartan champions [c. 82]. The deathblow to Argive aspirations was inflicted in B.C. 495 by the Spartan king Cleomenes who slew 6000 Argives in a battle near Tiryns. Hatred of Sparta prevented them taking any part against the Persians; in fact they were actually suspected of inviting the Persians to invade Greece [vii. 150—152].

Ἄρδερικκα, c. 185.

A place on the Euphrates above Babylon, possibly the modern *Akkerkuf*, at which Nitocris altered the course of the river. Another Ardericca, near Susa, where Darius settled his Eretrian captives, is mentioned in vi. 119.

Ἄρδης, cc. 15, 16, 18.

King of Lydia (B.C. 678 to 629, Herod., more probably B.C. 652 to 615), son of Gyges, father of Sadyattes. He took Priene and made war upon Miletus. During his reign the Cimmerians renewed their attacks and captured Sardis with the exception of the citadel. Ardys acknowledged the suzerainty of Assyria.

Ἄριζαντοί, c. 101.

A tribe of the Medes. The name perhaps means 'the Aryan race,' Persian *ariyazantu*.

Ἄριςβα, c. 151.

A town of Lesbos, reduced to slavery by the people of Methymna.

Ἄριστόδικος, cc. 158, 159.

An important citizen of Cyme who dissuaded his countrymen from surrendering Pactyas to the Persians, as an oracle of Apollo had bidden them. By an ingenious device he undertook to prove to the god the iniquity of his injunction, but without great success.

Ἄριστολαΐδης, c. 59.

Father of the Athenian party-leader Lycurgus.

Ἄριστων, c. 67.

King of Sparta, 14th of the junior or Eurypontid line and contemporary with Anaxandrides (q.v.). He reigned 50 years, from about 560 to about 510 B.C. Having had two wives who bore him no children he married the wife of his friend Agetus, obtaining her by a fraud from her husband. By her he had a son Demaratus, for whose story see Herod. vi. 61—70.

'Αρίων, cc. 23, 24.

This famous Greek minstrel (circa B.C. 600) was a native of Methymna in Lesbos but spent most of his life at the court of Periander of Corinth. He visited Italy and Sicily, and the picturesque story of how on his return voyage from Tarentum he escaped on a dolphin's back from the sailors who plotted to throw him overboard for the sake of his riches, is narrated in cc. 23, 24. Herodotus adds that at Taenarum, where he landed, he dedicated a bronze statuette representing a man riding upon a dolphin. The invention and the naming of the dithyramb are traditionally assigned to him. But see note on c. 23.

'Αρκάδες, cc. 66, 146. **'Αρκαδίη**, cc. 66, 67.

Arcadia was the central district of the Peloponnese. Owing to the lofty mountain barrier which encircled it and the rugged nature of the country itself, the indigenous Pelasgian population [cp. c. 146] was able to maintain itself against the Dorian invaders [ii. 171]. The Arcadians indeed had the credit of being, with the exception of the Cynurians, the only people in the Peloponnese who were natives of the soil and had never changed their abode [viii. 73]. They were a simple and hardy, but somewhat dull-witted, race of mountaineers. Not until the Roman age were they sublimated into ideal representatives of pastoral innocence and primitive content. Politically Arcadia comprised a number of independent communities, rarely acting in unison and frequently at war one with another. Tegea (q.v.) and Mantinea were the most important of them. Sparta made various attempts to acquire dominion over Arcadia and her struggle with Tegea is recorded in cc. 66, 67.

'Αρμένιοι, cc. 180, 194. **'Αρμένιον ὄρος**, c. 72.

Armenia, taken in its widest sense, stretches from Cappadocia on the west to, or almost to, the Caspian Sea on the east. The eastern and larger division of the country was commonly known as Armenia Major, and the western, that is, the part in Asia Minor west of the Euphrates, as Armenia Minor. Herodotus [v. 52] makes the Euphrates the boundary between it and Cilicia. To the south and south-east it bordered upon Mesopotamia and Media respectively.

"Αρπαγος, cc. 80, 108—113, 117—120, 123, 127, 129, 162, 164, 165, 168, 169, 171, 174—177.

A distinguished Mede, the trusted servant of Astyages. His neglect to carry out his master's instructions resulted in the preservation of the infant Cyrus. When cruelly punished for his fault by Astyages, he threw in his lot with the discontented Medes and engineered the revolt of Cyrus. His advice to Cyrus before Sardis materially assisted the Persian victory over Croesus [c. 80]. On the death of Mazares he succeeded to the command of Asia Minor and completed the subjugation of the country [cc. 162—177], after which nothing more is heard of him.

'Αρσάμης, c. 209.

A Persian of the Achaemenid clan, father of Hystaspes and grandfather of Darius.

'Αρτάβαζος, c. 192.

Father of Tritantaechmes (q.v.).

'Αρτεμβάρης, c. 114—116.

A Mede whose son was chastised by the youthful Cyrus. Artembares complained to Astyages and thus brought about the discovery of Cyrus' identity.

"Αρτεμις, c. 26.

Artemis of Ephesus was a very different divinity from the virgin huntress, twin sister of Apollo and, later at least, goddess of the moon, the characters under which Greek art and legend so frequently present her. The Ephesian Artemis was rather a personification of natural fertility and increase, and thus showed marked affinities to the Phrygian Great Mother, Cybele. Her image in later times was an uncouth many-breasted figure, with a turret-crown upon the head and with rams, bulls and lions wrought upon the mummy-like casing which enclosed the lower part of the body. Recent excavations, however, have given no reason to suppose that the *original* type of the Ephesian cultus image was "other than such a natural human figure as was consonant with early Hellenic idealism" (D. G. Hogarth, *Archaic Artemisium*, p. 336). Her favourite symbol was the bee and her priests were called 'Εσσηνες, kings or more properly *king* bees (in accordance with the ancient error about the sex of bees). The Amazons are said to have founded her worship at Ephesus [Paus. iv. 31, 8]. Doubtless the early Greek settlers found established in Ionia the worship of an indigenous Asiatic goddess, and probably on the ground of her association with wild animals applied to her the name and titles of their own Artemis (vide Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii. 480—482). Several temples were successively built to her on the same site, to one of which Croesus contributed a number of columns [c. 92]. The last, dating from the time of Alexander the Great, was the largest in existence and one of the seven wonders of the world.

'Αρύηνις, c. 74.

Daughter of Alyattes, king of Lydia, given in marriage to Astyages the Mede.

'Αρχίλοχος, c. 12.

A lyric and elegiac poet of Paros, but specially famous as the first poet who artistically developed the iambic and trochaic rhythms (Jebb, *Classical Greek Poetry*, p. 118). He employed iambic verse as the vehicle of bitter personal satire with such effect that he is reputed to have driven to suicide the family of the Parian Lycambes who had refused him his daughter Neobule in marriage. Subsequently he went to Thasos with a colony. While there he had the misfortune to lose his shield in an engagement with some Thracian invaders and jestingly narrated the episode in verse. The precise date of Archilochus is uncertain, but he probably flourished about B.C. 665.

Ἄσση, cc. 4, 6, 15, 16, 27, 72, 79, 95, 102—104, 106—108, 130, 177, 192, 209.

The earliest geographers divided the world into two continents, Europe and Asia, Libya or Africa being treated as part of the latter. Herodotus however hesitatingly accepts the threefold division into Europe, Asia and Libya, and regards the western frontier of Egypt as the boundary between Asia and Libya, though admitting that the Nile was commonly recognised as such [ii. 17]. He makes the Phasis, the Araxes and the Caspian Sea divide Asia from Europe, though others placed the line of demarcation along the Tanais and the Cimmerian Bosphorus [iv. 40, 45]. Asia he divides into Upper, to the east, and Lower, to the west of the Halys [cc. 72, 95, 103, 130, 177]. The name Asia in Homer (*Ἄσιω ἐν λειμῶνι*, *Il.* ii. 461) is applied to a district of Lydia round the Caicus. There was an 'Asian' tribe in Sardis [iv. 45]. Though derived by the Lydians from a hero *Asias*, the word is thought to mean 'land of the sunrise' from the Assyrian *aḫū* 'dawn.' (See Tozer, *History of Ancient Geography*, pp. 67—69, 82.)

Ἀσκάλων, c. 105.

A strongly situated town on the coast of Palestine between Gaza and Ashdod, 40 miles from Jerusalem. It is mentioned in the Old Testament as one of the five cities of the Philistines [Joshua xiii. 3]. The temple of Derceto in this place was plundered by the Scythians. Lydian legend reported that Ascalon was founded by Ascalus, general of the Heracleid king Aciamus, and that the Lydian Mopsus drowned Atergatis or Derceto in a lake near the city [Athenaeus viii. 37, p. 277].

Ἀσσησός, cc. 19, 22. **Ἀσσησίη,** c. 19.

A small place near Miletus possessing a temple of Athena (*Ἀσσησίη*) which was accidentally burnt by the army of Alyattes.

Ἀσσύριοι, cc. 95, 102, 103, 106, 131, 178, 188, 193, 194, 199.

Ἀσσυρία, cc. 178, 185. **Ἀσσύριος** (adjective), cc. 1, 184, 192.

Assyria proper was a long narrow strip of territory in the basin of the Tigris, bounded on the north by Armenia, on the west and south-west by Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and on the east by the Zagros range (*Mts of Kurdistan*). Herodotus however uses the name to include Babylonia [106, 178, 185, 192, 193], and calls the Babylonians Assyrians [cc. 188, 193]. Nineveh on the Tigris was the capital of Assyria proper. This book recounts how the Medes shook off the yoke of the Assyrians [c. 95], engaged in wars with them [cc. 102, 103] and finally took Nineveh [c. 106]; and later how Cyrus captured Babylon 'where the seat of their government was established after the overthrow of Nineveh' [cc. 178, 191]. The natural features of the country are described in cc. 192—194.

Ἀστυάγης, cc. 46, 73—75, 91, 107—112, 114—130, 162.

Son and successor of Cyaxares and last king of Media. He is called *Istuvegu* in the Assyrian texts. He married Aryenis, daughter of

Alyattes. His own daughter Mandane he gave in marriage to the Persian Cambyses and thereby became the grandfather of Cyrus, who subsequently stirred up a revolt and brought about his deposition (B.C. 550 according to the inscriptions). After his fall Astyages lived in honourable captivity at Cyrus' court. Other historians give somewhat different accounts of him. Ctesias makes him not the grandfather but the father-in-law of Cyrus, who married his daughter Amytis. On the other hand Xenophon, while taking the same view of the relationship as Herodotus, says that he was succeeded by Cyaxares II., on whose death Cyrus obtained the throne of Media.

Ἄταρνεύς, c. 160.

A district and city of Mysia opposite Lesbos, given by the Persians to the Chians as the price of their surrender of Pactyas. The region was a fertile corn-growing country [vi. 28].

Ἄτλαντίς, c. 202.

Herodotus is the first writer who applies the name *Atlantic* to the western ocean, the sea outside the pillars of Heracles, ἡ ἔξω θάλασσα, as it was commonly called. Mt Atlas, which gave its name to the sea, was a range—Herodotus describes it as a peak [iv. 184]—in north-west Africa.

Ἄττικὴ, c. 62. Ἄττικός, cc. 57, 59, 192.

Attica is a rugged hilly peninsula of roughly triangular form, 50 miles long by 30 broad, and containing an area of some 700 square miles. The name is possibly connected with ἀκτὴ, 'promontory' or 'coastland.' Owing to its unproductive soil and its situation away from the main route between northern and southern Greece it was but little liable to foreign invasion or changes of population [Thuc. i. 2]. Its inhabitants consequently claimed to be natives of the soil and to belong to the primitive Pelasgian stock [c. 57]. It was regarded as the great centre of the Ionian race, despite the objection which the Athenians had to the name Ionian [c. 143]. Attica originally consisted of 12 independent cantons which, it was said, were united by Theseus into a single state. The country was divided into several districts named according to position and physical configuration. In the N.W. was the Plain, comprising the level districts round Athens and Eleusis. N.E. of this lay the Diacria or mountain region, the only flat part of which was the small plain of Marathon. South of the Diacria was the undulating midland district or Μεσόγαια (modern *Mesóghia*), while the narrow end of the peninsula south of Hymettus was known as the Paralus or coast region [cp. c. 59]. The country was further divided into demes or parishes, which were made by Cleisthenes the basis of his political organisation.

Ἄττυς.

(1) cc. 7, 94. King of the Maeonians, son of Manes, father of Lydus and Tyrrhenus.

(2) c. 34. Son of Croesus, accidentally slain by Adrastus (q.v.).

Ἄφροδίτη, cc. 105, 131, 199.

The 'Heavenly Aphrodite' is for Herodotus the Hellenic equivalent of the Assyrian Mylitta, the Arabian Alilat, the Phoenician Astarte, the Syrian Atergatis or Derceto, and the Scythian Argimpasa [iv. 59]. Her worship, as the Greeks were aware, was of Semitic origin and was transmitted to them by the Phoenicians. In Asia she was venerated locally under different names and forms but generally as the giver of fertility to men, animals and plants, and as the goddess of heaven [cp. Jeremiah vii. 18 'the queen of heaven']; sometimes also as a moon-goddess. At Ascalon and other towns on or near the sea she was represented as a marine deity, half woman, half fish. Fish were sacred to her and were not eaten by her worshippers (see J. G. Frazer's *Pausanias*, note on i. 14, 7).

Ἀχαιμενίδαι, cc. 125, 209.

A clan belonging to the noblest of the Persian tribes, the Pasargadae. Its founder was Achaemenes [vii. 11], Persian Hakhámanish, whose grandsons Cyrus and Ariaramnes were grandfather of Cyrus the Great and great-grandfather of Darius respectively.

Ἀχαιοί, c. 145.

The 'fair-haired' Achaeans in heroic times were the ruling race in the southern district of Thessaly—Achaea Phthiotis—and in the eastern Peloponnese, particularly at Argos and Sparta. They were invaders from the north who conquered the ancient 'Pelasgian' inhabitants and overthrew the decadent Mycenaean civilisation. In turn they were conquered by the Dorians and driven into the strip of territory along the southern shore of the Corinthian Gulf, from which they expelled the Ionian occupants and which was thenceforward known as Achaea. The new Achaean confederacy, like that of the dispossessed Ionians, comprised twelve cities.

Βαβυλῶν, cc. 153, 178—180, 183—185, 187, 189—194. ἡ Βαβυλωνίη (χώρη), cc. 106, 192, 193. οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, cc. 77, 186, 190—192, 196, 198—200. ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, c. 74. Βαβυλώνια ἔργα, c. 93.

Babylonia occupied the southern portion of the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris. It was bounded on the north by Assyria and Mesopotamia, on the east by Susiana, and on the west by the Syrian desert, though its exact limits varied at different times. The country was one unbroken plain of extraordinary fertility, abounding in palm trees and producing luxuriant crops of wheat, barley, millet, and sesame [cc. 192, 193]. The city of Babylon, which after the fall of Nineveh became the seat of the New Babylonian empire, was acc. to Herod. surrounded by a wall 480 stades in circuit. The Euphrates divided the city into two halves, in one of which, says Herod., stood the royal palace, in the other the temple of Baal (but see note on c. 183). Its streets were all arranged at right angles to one another and flanked by buildings three or four stories high [cc. 178—183]. Among the sovereigns who improved and strengthened the city, Herod. names Nitocris and Semiramis [cc. 184—187]. Herod. relates that

Babylonian mediation assisted to bring about peace between Alyattes and Cyaxares [c. 74], and mentions a treaty subsisting between Croesus and the Babylonians [c. 77]. In B.C. 538 Babylon was captured by Cyrus and absorbed in the Persian empire. In the reign of Darius it twice revolted from Persia, cp. note on c. 191, l. 34.

Βάκτριον ἔθνος, c. 153.

The great district of Bactria, roughly coinciding with the upper portion of the Oxus basin, was bounded on the south and east by the lofty range of Paropamisus or *Hindu Kush*, and on the north by the country of Sogdiana. Its principal town was Bactra, modern *Balkh*. Bactria was subdued by Cyrus.

Βῆλος.

(1) c. 7. A legendary grandson of Heracles and father of Ninus, doubtless a duplicate of Belus (2). According to the ordinary account Belus was son of Poseidon by Libya or Euronyme, twin-brother of Agenor, and father of Aegyptus and Danaus.

(2) c. 181. Ζεὺς Βῆλος, Bel or Baal, 'lord,' was the chief god of the Babylonian pantheon, hence his identification with the Hellenic Zeus. Under the title Bel-Merodach—apparently a fusion of two originally distinct deities—he was worshipped as the tutelary genius of Babylon in the great temple which Herodotus describes [cc. 181—183].

Βίας, cc. 27, 170.

Of Priene, one of the Seven Sages. He flourished in the middle of the sixth century B.C. and was celebrated for his forensic ability and practical shrewdness. His ready wit is said to have prevented Croesus from attacking the Greek islanders [c. 27], and his advice to the Ionians to migrate to Sardinia and there found a Pan-Ionic city is highly commended by Herodotus [c. 170].

Βιθυνοί, c. 28.

Bithynia was a district of Asia Minor, washed on its northern and western coasts by the Euxine and the Propontis. Its inhabitants were Thracians from the river Strymon [vii. 75].

Βίτων, c. 31.

Son of Cydippe, Hera's priestess at Argos.

Βοιωτοί, c. 92. Βοιωτίας, c. 195.

Boeotia lay to the north of Attica from which it was divided by the mountains of Cithaeron and Parnes. On the north and north-east it was bounded by Opuntian Locris and the Euripus, on the south-west by the Corinthian Gulf, and on the west by Phocis. The Boeotians were an Aeolian race who migrated from Phthiotis in Thessaly to the country which was then called Cadmeis but which was subsequently named after them Boeotia. By historical times the ancient peoples of the land, Pelasgians, Minyans, Cadmeians—the last said to be Phoenicians settled at Thebes—were all absorbed in the Boeotian population.

The important cities of Boeotia were 14 in number, forming a loose confederacy under the leadership of Thebes, which only obtained the dominant position after a long struggle with Orchomenus.

Βούδιοι, c. 101.

A Median tribe.

Βούρα, c. 145.

An Achaean town five miles from the sea, south-east of Helice. In B.C. 373 it was destroyed by an earthquake in which all its inhabitants perished.

Βούσαι, c. 101.

A Median tribe.

Βράγχιδαι, (place) cc. 46, 92, 157, 159; (priesthood) c. 158.

Branchidae lay in the territory of Miletus, 10 miles south of the city and two from the sea (vide *Πάνορμος*), and was the site of a famous temple of Apollo, built in the Ionic style, 304 feet long and 165 feet broad. Though only two columns are now standing, the temple ruins are exceedingly beautiful and imposing (see Rawlinson's *Herod.* note on i. 157). Branchidae has yielded important specimens of early Greek sculpture. A number of seated figures which lined the approach to the temple are now in the British Museum. Here Apollo was worshipped under the title *Διδυμεύς*, Didyma being another name for the place. The name Branchidae belonged originally to the local priesthood [c. 158] which claimed descent from Branchus, son of Apollo by a Milesian woman and founder of the oracle. This is obviously a story invented to explain the name *Βράγχιδαι*, the title of some pre-Hellenic priesthood. Pausanias indeed says [vii. 2, 6] that the sanctuary and oracle were older than the Ionian immigration. The shrine was of widespread reputation. Not only was it regularly resorted to by Ionians and Aeolians [c. 157], but it was endowed and honoured by Croesus [cc. 46, 92] and even by the Egyptian king Neco [ii. 159].

Βυβασσλή χερσόνησος, c. 174.

The peninsula of Bybassus lay to the east of Cnidus in Caria between the promontory of Triopium and the mainland. In order to insulate their city the Cnidians attempted to cut through the western end of this peninsula, apparently at a spot almost due north of the island of Syme, where the ground is low and the distance from sea to sea very short. (See Smith's *Dict. Geogr.* art. 'Bubassus.')

Γερμάνιοι, c. 125.

One of the three Persian agricultural tribes. The name is a variation of *Καρμάνιοι*—the form actually read by Stephanus Byz. in quoting the passage. They dwelt on the eastern frontier of Persia Proper in the modern *Kirman*.

Γλαῦκος.

(1) c. 25. A famous metal-worker of Chios who discovered the art of welding iron. His masterpiece was the iron crater-stand which Alyattes presented to Delphi. According to Eusebius he flourished about B.C. 690. His skill became proverbial, *Γλαύκου τέχνη*.

(2) c. 147. A Lycian, son of Hippolochus, grandson of Bellerophon. With his Lycian hosts he fought on the side of Priam against the Greeks, *Il.* ii. 876. He was slain by Ajax.

Γορδῆς.

(1) c. 14. King of Phrygia, father of the Midas (q.v.) who sent offerings to Delphi before the time of Gyges. He lived perhaps about B.C. 750.

(2) cc. 35, 45. King of Phrygia, father of Adrastus (q.v.) and hence contemporary with Croesus.

Γρύνεια, c. 149.

An Aeolian city of Asia Minor at the head of the Elaitic Bay between Elaea and Myrina. It possessed a sanctuary of Apollo with an ancient oracle and a magnificent temple of white marble. Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 72, mentions Apollo's 'Grynean grove.'

Γυγαίη λίμνη, c. 93.

A large shallow lake in Lydia, a few miles north of Sardis by the tomb of Alyattes. Its modern name is *Mermereh*. During a hot summer a few years ago it belied its ancient reputation for never drying up (Sayce, note *ad loc.*).

Γύγης, cc. 8—15. Γυγάδας χρυσός, c. 14.

King of Lydia. He assassinated the previous monarch Candaules with the connivance of the queen, and founded the dynasty of the Mermnadae. As the Lydians took up arms against the usurper, the matter was referred to the Delphic oracle, and the decision being given in his favour, Gyges sent magnificent offerings to the god. He engaged in hostilities with Smyrna and Miletus and captured the lower town of Colophon. From Assyrian inscriptions we learn that the Cimmerian inroads began in his reign and that in order to secure the assistance of Assyria against the invaders he became the vassal of Assur-bani-pal. Soon however he renounced his allegiance and threw in his lot with the disaffected Egyptians. But the Cimmerians again appearing before Sardis he was obliged to give battle and perished in the fight. (See also art. *Κανδαύλης*.)

Γύνδης, cc. 189, 190, 202.

The modern river *Diyalah* which rises in the mountains west of Agbatana—in the mountains of the Matieni, says Herodotus—and flows north-west and then south-west into the Tigris. It was crossed by Cyrus when advancing on Babylon, and the identification with the *Diyalah* is rendered certain by the fact that his line of march passed

no other important river between the mountains and the Tigris. (Cp. Rawlinson, note on i. 189.)

Δάοι, c. 125.

One of the four nomad tribes of Persia, Virgil's 'indomiti Dahae' [*Aen.* viii. 728], called Dehavites in Ezra iv. 9. They roamed the territory to the east and south of the Caspian. They were not properly Persians but aboriginals of non-Aryan stock.

Δαρδαναί, c. 189.

A tribe, otherwise unknown, which inhabited the valley of the Gyndes. There is a place called *Darneh* near the river, but to connect the names is perhaps hazardous.

Δαρείος, cc. 130, 183, 187, 209—211.

Son of Hystaspes, king of Persia B.C. 521—485. In consequence of a dream which he had during his expedition against the Massagetæ Cyrus suspected him of plotting against his throne. The dream however had no immediate fulfilment, for after Cyrus' death Darius was one of Cambyses' bodyguard in Egypt [iii. 139]. But in B.C. 521 having helped to depose the usurper who pretended to be Smerdis, son of Cyrus, he was made king himself [iii. 61—88]. He married two daughters of Cyrus, Atossa and Artystone, and also a granddaughter, Parmys. To him is due the consolidation of the Persian empire and its organisation into 20 satrapies, each paying a fixed tribute. The early years of his reign he spent in quelling revolts which broke out in various quarters of his dominions. Among the most serious was that of the Medes under Phraortes (*Fravartish*), referred to in c. 130 and fully described in the Behistan inscription. Outbreaks also occurred at Babylon, which was reduced to submission after a long siege [iii. 159]. On entering the city Darius opened the tomb of Nitocris [c. 187], and contemplated carrying off a colossal image of gold from the sanctuary of Bel [c. 183]. In B.C. 515 he made an abortive invasion of Scythia, but his general Megabyzus conquered Thrace and Macedonia. The last years of his reign were fraught with disaster for Persia. The expedition which he sent against Greece ended in utter failure at the battle of Marathon (B.C. 490), and preparations for a fresh attempt were interrupted by the revolt of Egypt (B.C. 486). He died the following year and was succeeded by his son Xerxes.

Δάσκυλος, c. 8.

Father of Gyges.

Δελφοί, (place) cc. 13, 14, 19, 25, 31, 46—52, 65—67, 85, 90, 92, 167, 174; (people) 14, 20, 51, 54, 55.

Delphi was a town of Phocis standing in an amphitheatre of rocks (*πετρῶδες χωρίον θεατροειδές*) on the southern slope of Mt Parnassus. Immediately behind the town were the great 'gleaming' precipices, the Phaëdriades, cleft from top to bottom by a gloomy gorge hardly 20 feet wide, from the foot of which issued the Castalian spring. So

steeply does the ground fall away from the base of the cliffs to the river Pleistus below that the town was built upon a succession of artificial terraces, the six topmost of which were occupied by the sanctuary of Apollo lying to the west of the Castalian spring (see Frazer's *Pausanias*, note on x. 8, 6). Delphi, called Pytho in the Homeric poems, was the religious capital of Greece, and the oracle of Pythian Apollo was consulted not only by the whole Greek-speaking world but by foreigners as well. According to Herodotus the first foreigner to send presents to Delphi was Midas of Phrygia, but he was soon followed by Gyges of Lydia and his successors Alyattes and Croesus, who vied with one another in the magnificence of their offerings [cc. 14, 25, 50, 51, 92]. The influence of the oracle upon domestic and international politics was enormous. It was believed by some to have inspired the reforms of Lycurgus [c. 65]; it encouraged the Spartans to persevere against Tegea, though it abated their aspirations to the conquest of all Arcadia [cc. 66, 67]; and if we may believe Herodotus, its ambiguous responses determined Croesus' anti-Persian policy [cc. 46—48, 90]. Through following its advice, the Cnadians had to submit to Harpagus without striking a blow [c. 174]. Its religious, as distinct from its political importance, is illustrated by the case of the Agyllaeans [c. 167]. The rights of the sanctuary were zealously guarded by the Amphictyonic League, which was prepared to resist their infringement by force of arms, and in B.C. 585 brought about the destruction of the seaport town of Cirrha because of its exactions from pilgrims to the shrine. In 548 the temple was destroyed by fire [c. 50]. It was restored by the Alcmaeonidae (q.v.), who exceeded their contract by facing the front with Parian marble. In gratitude the oracle exerted itself to procure the return of the exiled family to Athens. After their victory at Thermopylae the Persians advanced upon Delphi. The inhabitants were forced to flee, but Apollo, says Herodotus [viii. 36, 37], preserved his temple by a miraculous thunderstorm and by causing huge rocks to roll from the mountain tops upon the enemy. The oracular responses were given by a priestess called the Pythia who sat in the inmost shrine (*μαντεῖον* or *χρηστήριον*) upon a tripod placed over a fissure from which rose the exhalations that were supposed to inspire her with the spirit of prophecy. On the terrace below the temple were the treasuries of the various Greek states [cp. cc. 50, 51].

Δευκαλίων, c. 56.

Son of Prometheus, king of Phthia, the Greek Noah. In his time Zeus drowned the world in a flood. He and his wife Pyrrha were saved in an ark which he had constructed on his father's advice. After the waters had subsided the pair restored mankind by throwing the bones of their mother, i.e. the stones of the earth, over their shoulders. Deucalion's stones became men, Pyrrha's women.

Δηϊόκης, cc. 16, 73, 96—99, 101—103.

According to Herodotus Deïoces the Mede was a man of ability and local reputation for fair-dealing, who conceived a desire for despotic power. Becoming arbitrator for his own, and then for the

neighbouring villages, he decided the disputes referred to him with so much skill and justice that he was finally elected king by the Medes. He at once made the Medes build him a palace and assign him a bodyguard. He then built the city of Agbatana where he dwelt in great state, suspicious of his former associates and stern in repressing disorder. Deïoces was thus the founder of the Median empire, although he made no attempt to conquer foreign nations. According to Herodotus' chronology he must have reigned B.C. 709—656. But apparently the story of Deïoces is pure romance and contains no solid basis of history. Cyaxares, not Deïoces, was the real founder of the Median empire.

Δῆλος, c. 64.

The smallest of the Cyclades, about five miles in circumference, between Rheneia and Myconos. Once a floating island, legend said it became fixed that Leto might find a resting-place wherein to give birth to Apollo. It was long a centre of the worship of Apollo and was besides the seat of an annual Panionian festival [cp. Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 146—155], which continued, though with diminished popularity, until Roman times. Peisistratus purified the island by removing all the graves within sight of the temple. In 426 a second purification was carried out by the Athenians, who not only exhumed all the dead bodies in the island, but declared it unlawful for any birth or death to take place there (Thuc. iii. 104). In consequence of these drawbacks the lay population of the island was probably small.

Δημήτηρ, c. 193.

Daughter of Cronos and mother of Persephone, an earth goddess associated with the processes of vegetable growth and the operations of agriculture. The traditional derivation δᾶ μήτηρ 'mother earth,' though incorrect, shows a true appreciation of her fundamental character. In particular she personifies the corn spirit, hence 'Demeter's fruit' [c. 193; iv. 198] is merely a periphrasis for 'corn.' As θεσμοφόρος she is patroness of civilisation and social order. Her worship commonly involved mystical rites symbolising the death and resurrection of the corn, and at the same time having allegorical reference to human life. The story of Demeter and Persephone belongs to the same circle of ideas. Herodotus identifies her with the Egyptian Isis [ii. 59, 122, 123, 156].

Δηρουσιαῖοι, c. 125.

One of the Persian agricultural tribes.

Δινδυμήνη, c. 80.

A title of the Great Mother, Cybele, so called from Mt Dindymum in Phrygia, which was a seat of her worship. This Dindymum, modern *Morad Dagh*, the source of the river Hermus, is not to be confused with the mountain of the same name near Cyzicus.

Διόνυσος, c. 150.

The god of wine, son of Zeus and Semele, also called Bacchus. His worship spread with the cultivation of the vine and by way of Thrace passed into European Hellas, where he was specially honoured at Thebes and on Cithaeron and Parnassus. His festivals were naturally of a wild and orgiastic character. In Phrygia and Lydia he was called Sabazius and associated with the goddess Cybele. In c. 150 a festival in his honour at Smyrna is mentioned. On Mt Tmolus an annual festival was held to celebrate his return from his legendary journey to India. As the 'Indian Bacchus' he is represented in art with a dignified and benign expression, wearing a long beard, flowing Lydian robes, and sometimes a diadem on his forehead.

Δροπικοί, c. 125.

A nomad tribe of Persia, perhaps identical with the Derbiccae of other historians. The Derbiccae lived between the Oxus, the Caspian and Hyrcania. Strabo attributes to them the practice of killing and eating their old people. They were not true Persians but of Scythian or Tatar origin.

Δρύοπες, c. 146. Δρυοπίς, c. 56.

The Dryopes anciently inhabited a region stretching from Phocis north-westward to the sources of the river Spercheius and including the country later called Doris, a small territory between the summits of Oeta and Parnassus [cp. viii. 31]. Legend says that Heracles, with the help of the Malians, drove the Dryopes out of their country and gave it to the Dorians [viii. 43]. The dispossessed natives scattered widely, settling at Hermione and Asine in Argolis [viii. 73], at Styra and Carystus in Euboea, and in the island of Cythnus [viii. 46]. They were mingled too with the Ionic population of Asia Minor [i. 146]. The Dryopes appear to have been a race of Pelasgian stock. In viii. 31 Dryopis is called the mother-country of the Dorians in the Peloponnese.

Δύμη, c. 145.

The most westerly of the twelve cities of Achaea, lying some distance from the sea, 60 stadia from Cape Araxus and 40 from Olenus [Strabo, viii. 337, 386]. It is commonly identified with ruins near the modern hamlet of *Karavostasi*. In B.C. 280 it joined with Patrae in reviving the Achaean League. About B.C. 198 a Roman army under Sulpicius plundered it because it had taken up the cause of Philip of Macedon. An inscription now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, records an attempt at rebellion against Rome about B.C. 120, when 'a certain Sosos, aided by one of the magistrates, drew up a new constitution for the city and burned the public offices with the archives' [Frazer, note on Pausanias vii. 17, 5]. Later a Roman colony was settled there.

Δωδώνη, c. 46.

A town of Epirus, the site of which has been fixed by the excavations of Mr Carapanos in a picturesque and fertile valley 11 miles south-west of *Jannina*. It was famous for its oracle of Zeus, the most ancient, and at one time the only oracle in Greece [ii. 52]. Legend connected it with the oracle of Zeus Ammon and with Egyptian Thebes [ii. 54—57]. It was apparently of Pelasgian origin, Zeus of Dodona being addressed in Homer [*Il.* xvi. 233] as Πελασγικέ. The god's responses were given by the rustling of the leaves of a sacred oak, and were interpreted by three priestesses called 'Doves' (περιστεραί, ii. 57, or πελειάδες). The fame of Dodona waned before the growing importance of Delphi, and the oracle was chiefly frequented by Epirots, Aetolians and Acarnanians. Yet Croesus consulted it [c. 46] and great credit was attached to its utterances by the Athenians. In B.C. 219 the temple was plundered and razed to the ground by the Aetolians.

Δωριέες, cc. 6, 28, 57, 139, 144, 146, 171. Δωρικὸν γένος, c. 56.

The Dorians were one of the great divisions of the Hellenic race, mythically descended from Dorus, son of Hellen. Like the Achaeans they entered Greece from the north, and are supposed by Professor Ridgeway to be of the same stock as the Illyrians; at any rate they show marked differences from their tall fair-haired Achaean predecessors, with whom they have sometimes been held closely cognate. The kernel of history discoverable in Herodotus' record of their wanderings [c. 56] is that they were at one time settled in Thessaly, and thence came southwards to Dryopis (q.v.) or Doris as it was subsequently called, 'the mother-country of the Dorians in Peloponnese' [viii. 31]. Their invasion of the Peloponnese, known in legend as the 'Return of the Heracleidae,' took place at a date later than the Heroic age, for the name Dorian occurs but once in the Homeric poems, and then only as the name of a tribe in Crete [*Od.* xix. 177]. Herodotus says they were not called Dorians until after their arrival in the Peloponnese. Here they occupied Megara, Corinth, Sicyon, Phlius, Argos, Troezen, Epidaurus [cp. c. 146], and were the ruling caste in Laconia and Messenia. They sent out a number of colonies, westwards to Coreyra, Sicily and S. Italy, eastwards to Thera, Melos, Cos, Rhodes and Cnidus. The Asiatic Dorians formed a confederacy at first of six cities, afterwards of five owing to the exclusion of Halicarnassus [c. 144]. Their subjection by Croesus is referred to in cc. 6, 28.

Δῶρος, c. 56.

Son of Hellen, mythical ancestor and eponymous hero of the Dorians.

Ἑκατὸν νῆσοι, c. 151.

The 'Hundred Isles' lay between Lesbos and the mainland in the bay of Adramyttium. Strabo's derivation from Apollo's epithet Ἐκατος, 'far-darting,' is no doubt wrong [Strabo, xiii. p. 618].

Ἑλένη, c. 3.

Daughter of Zeus and Leda. In her girlhood she was kidnapped by Theseus and taken to Athens, whence she was rescued by her brothers Castor and Pollux [ix. 73]. After becoming the wife of Menelaus she was abducted by Paris and thus brought about the Trojan war. Herodotus believes that she never got as far as Troy but was detained by king Proteus in Egypt [ii. 113—120].

Ἐλευσίς, c. 30.

A town of Attica, about 11 miles north-west of Athens opposite the island of Salamis, and at the western mouth of the Cephissus. It was famous for the mysteries held in the great temple of Demeter, which were annually attended by the Athenians, who passed in solemn procession along the Sacred Way between the two towns. Though originally independent of Athens it appears to have acknowledged her supremacy before the end of the legendary period. Being on the high road from Athens to Megara it was naturally the scene of conflicts between the hostile states [cp. c. 30].

Ἑλική, c. 145. Ἑλικώνιος, c. 148.

A city of Achaea, south-east of Aegium and north of Bura, near the mouth of the river Selinus. Its temple of Poseidon (q.v.) was the principal sanctuary of the old Ionian inhabitants of Achaea, and the worship of Poseidon Heliconius they carried with them to Asia. During a winter night in the year B.C. 373 Helice, with the neighbouring town of Bura, was destroyed by an earthquake. 'The sea advanced far over the land and submerged the whole of Helice, and in the grove of Poseidon the water was so deep that only the tops of the trees were visible. So what between the suddenness of the earthquake and the simultaneous rush of the sea, the billows sucked down Helice and every soul in the place' (Paus. vii. 24, 12, Frazer's Trans.).

Ἑλλάς, cc. 1—3, 27, 29, 69, 92, 152. Ἕλληνες, cc. 1—7, 26, 27, 35, 46, 53, 56, 60, 65, 69, 70, 72, 74, 75, 87, 90, 94, 110, 131, 133, 135, 148, 153, 163, 170, 171, 174, 193, 202, 203, 216. Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος, cc. 4, 56, 58, 60, 143.

The name Hellas in the Homeric poems is confined to a small district of Phthiotis in Thessaly [*Il.* ii. 683; *Thuc.* i. 3]. Herodotus however includes under the title not only Greece Proper but any district settled by Greeks. Thus for him Ephesus is in Hellas [i. 92] as well as the Greek cities in Sicily [vii. 157]. Aristotle [*Meteor.* i. 14, p. 352] states that the people called Hellenes were once called Graikoi (in Latin *Graeci*) and lived in the district round Dodona and the Achelous. It appears that the name Hellenes was not used as a general name for all Greeks until possibly the seventh century B.C. (Prof. Bury in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xv. pp. 217—238). The Hellenes all claimed descent from an eponymous ancestor Hellen (q.v.). They are frequently contrasted with the more ancient 'Pelagic' inhabitants of Greece [cp. c. 56].

"Ἐλλην, c. 56.

King of Phthia, son of Deucalion and Pyrrha, father of Aeolus, Dorus and Xuthus, and eponymous hero of the Hellenic race.

"Ἐλλήσποντος, c. 57.

The strait, in parts only a mile wide, between the Thracian Chersonese and Asia Minor, now called the *Dardanelles*. But the name is used in a wider sense by Herodotus to include the Propontis or *Sea of Marmora* [i. 57; iv. 38, 76]. All the Greek colonists from Sestus to the Euxine are known by him as Ἐλλησπόντιοι [iv. 89].

"Ἐνετοί, c. 196.

The Eneti or Heneti, Latin *Veneti*, were a tribe dwelling at the head of the Adriatic Sea. Legend said they came with Antenor from Paphlagonia after the fall of Troy. In *Iliad* ii. 852 mention is made of a Paphlagonian tribe called Ἐνετοί, and the story may have been invented to explain the identity of names. Herodotus calls them Illyrians, but their ethnic affinities are not very clear.

"Ἐπιδαύριοι, c. 146.

Inhabitants of Epidaurus, a town on the east coast of Argolis opposite the island of Aegina, which it had originally colonised [v. 83, viii. 46]. Its population was mainly Dorian [cp. c. 146]. It was celebrated for its cult of Aesculapius whose sanctuary lay about five miles west of the city. Tablets have been found inscribed with the marvellous cures performed by the god on the sick who slept within the sacred precincts. The theatre at Epidaurus is the finest and best-preserved Greek theatre which survives.

"Ἐρέτρια, cc. 61, 62.

A town of Euboea, east of Chalcis and opposite Oropus, inhabited chiefly by Ionians [viii. 46]. In early times it was among the most powerful maritime states of Greece and engaged in constant hostilities with its neighbour and rival, Chalcis [cp. v. 99]. After his second expulsion from Athens Peisistratus resided at Eretria and made it his base of operations against Attica. The town was captured by the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes, and part of its inhabitants carried away captive to Persia [vi. 119].

"Ἐρμος, cc. 55, 80.

The principal river of Lydia rising on Mt Dindymum (see *Δινδυμήνη*) in Phrygia. It flows in a deep valley past the town of Sardis, and after a course of about 170 miles falls into the Gulf of Smyrna. According to Herodotus [c. 80] its mouth was near Phocaea, but in recent times it debouched close to Smyrna, threatening indeed to silt up the harbour, until in 1886 a canal was constructed which diverted its waters more or less into their old course.

Ἐρυθραί, c. 142. Ἐρυθραῖοι, cc. 18, 142.

One of the 12 Ionian cities of Asia Minor, modern *Ritri*, situated on the coast opposite Chios. Its population contained Cretan, Lycian, Carian and Pamphylian elements, relics of pre-Ionian settlers who came thither with Erythrus, son of Rhadamanthus. Its second founder was Codrus' son, Cleopus, who collected people from the various cities of Ionia and settled them among the old inhabitants [Paus. vii. 3, 7]. The Erythraeans spoke the same dialect as the Chians, but were not always on friendly terms with them [c. 18].

Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα, cc. 1, 180, 189, 202.

The Indian Ocean together with its inlet the Persian Gulf, which Herodotus did not distinguish from the main ocean, being unaware of its land-locked character. Thus he makes the Euphrates and the Tigris flow direct into the Erythraean Sea [cc. 180, 189]. This sea and the Atlantic he regards as parts of a single ocean [c. 202], sending into the land two great gulfs, the Mediterranean (*ἥδε ἡ θάλασσα*, cc. 1, 185) and the Red Sea (*ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος*, iv. 39, 42). It is only in the LXX., the New Testament, and late authors that *Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα* signifies what we call the Red Sea.

Εὔβοια, c. 146.

A large island, 100 miles long and 4 to 30 miles broad, stretching along the coast of Locris, Boeotia and Attica. The channel, called the Euripus, modern *Negropont*, between it and the mainland is at its narrowest part opposite Chalcis only 40 yards across. Euboea was inhabited by several races, Abantians (q.v.) who had disappeared from the island in historic times but in the Homeric age formed the bulk of the population [*Iliad* ii. 536], Ellopians, an Ionic people, possessing the district round Oreus in the north-west [cp. Herod. viii. 23], Ionians from Attica settled in Chalcis and Eretria in the centre, and Dryopians (q.v.) occupying Styra and Carystus in the south-east.

Ἐξέινος πόντος, cc. 6, 72, 76, 110.

The 'Hospitable Sea,' our 'Black Sea,' a euphemism for *ἄξεινος* or *ἄξενος πόντος*, the 'Inhospitable Sea,' so called on account of the terrors which its wide expanse of open waters presented to Greek mariners. It is often known simply as *ὁ Πόντος*. Herodotus [iv. 85] greatly overestimates its size, making it 11,100 stades or 1280 miles long, and 3300 stades or 400 miles broad. Its actual length is 700, and its breadth 300 miles.

Εὐρώπη, cc. 2, 173.

A Phoenician princess, kidnapped from Tyre by Greeks [c. 2]. She was daughter of Agenor—of Phoenix according to *Iliad* xiv. 321—and mother of Sarpedon and Minos (q.v.).

Εὐρώπη, cc. 4, 103, 209.

As a local name Europe first occurs in the Homeric Hymn to

Apollo, l. 251, where it apparently means northern Greece as distinct from Peloponnesus and the islands (see Sikes and Allen *ad loc.*). In Herodotus it is used for the northern continent with almost the same delimitation as at the present time, except that the dividing line between it and Asia was not the Caucasus but the river Phasis (*Rioni*) or, as others held, the Tanais (*Don*) and the Cimmerian Straits (*Straits of Yeni Kalé*). The western and northern extremities of Europe are confessedly unknown to Herodotus [iii. 115]. The name was popularly derived from that of the Phoenician princess (see last art.), but even Herodotus views the etymology with suspicion [iv. 45]. Nor does the modern derivation from Assyrian *ereb* 'darkness'—hence 'land of sunset'—carry conviction.

Εὐφράτης, cc. 179, 180, 185, 186, 191, 193.

The Euphrates, modern *Firat*, like the Araxes rises near *Erzerum* in the mountains of Armenia. Flowing first in a south-westerly direction it rounds the eastern shoulder of the Taurus range, and after a winding course between the low hills of northern Syria and Mesopotamia, enters the alluvial plain of Babylonia, passes through the capital city, and finally issues in the Persian Gulf (see art. *Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα*). Its total length is about 1700 miles. Its waters were often artificially diverted into the surrounding plains for the purpose of irrigation, or sometimes with a military object [cc. 180, 186, 191], and in one place it was united by a navigable canal with the Tigris [c. 193]. The traffic on the river is described in c. 194.

Ἐφεσος, cc. 92, 142. **Ἐφέσιοι**, cc. 26, 147.

An Ionian city in Lydia near the mouth of the Cayster. It possessed a harbour, Panormus, which the river has now silted up. The 'old town' [c. 26] lay on a hillside to the south of the Cayster, and was originally occupied by Leleges and Lydians, who were expelled by Ionian invaders under Androclus, son of Codrus [Paus. vii. 2, 8]. Subsequently the place extended in the direction of the great temple of Ephesian Artemis (q.v.) which lay seven stades off on marshy ground near the river. Ephesus was the first Greek town to be attacked by Croesus [c. 26], probably because he wanted a seaport. It is only about 60 miles from Sardis and easily accessible.

Ζεύς, cc. 44, 65, 89, 131, 171, 174, 181, 182, 183, 207.

Zeus, the supreme divinity of the Greeks, father of gods and men, is often identified with the principal deities of other nations, e.g. with the Persian Ahura-Mazda [c. 131], the Egyptian Ammon (q.v. and cp. *Zeús Θηβαιεύς*, c. 182), the Babylonian Bel (*Zeús Βήλος*, cc. 181, 183) and more or less vaguely—for Croesus is speaking as a Greek—with the chief god of the Lydians [cc. 89, 207]. The Carian Zeus of Mylasa [c. 171] probably resembled the warlike *Zeús Στράτιος*, worshipped at Labraunda [v. 119], whose symbol was a double-headed axe. In c. 44 Zeus is invoked as *Καθάρσιος*, *Ἐπίστιος* and *Ἐταιρήσιος*—cult epithets of the god in his moral and social aspects. His oracle at Dodona (q.v.) was consulted by Croesus.

Ἡγησικλῆς, c. 65.

King of Sparta, thirteenth of the Eurypontid line, and contemporary with the Agiad Leon. He reigned about B.C. 600—560, and was succeeded by his son Ariston (q.v.). The Doric form of the name is Agasicles.

Ἡετίων, c. 14.

Father of Cypselus (q.v.).

Ἡραῖον, c. 70.

The temple of Hera at Samos was the largest known to Herodotus, and in Pausanias' opinion [vii. 4, 4] one of the oldest in existence. It was built in the Ionic style by Rhoecus of Samos [Herod. iii. 60] on a promontory south-west of the town. Its dimensions were 346 by 189 feet, but at the present day only a single column of it is standing—hence the modern name of the site, *Cape Colonna*. The idol of the goddess was originally a mere plank, for which an image of archaic workmanship by Smilis was afterwards substituted. Among the offerings in the temple were two wooden figures of Amasis, king of Egypt, dedicated by himself [ii. 182], and a great bronze crater which had been despatched by the Spartans as a present to Croesus, but by some means found its way to Samos.

Hera's temple in Argolis [c. 31] was five miles north-east of Argos, and three south-east of Mycenae, on a terraced hill at the foot of Mount Euboea. Its site was accidentally discovered in 1831, and recent excavations have unearthed a large number of archaeological treasures belonging to the finest period of Greek art. The old temple, that to which Cleobis and Biton drew their mother, occupied the uppermost terrace of the hill. It was burnt down in B.C. 423 owing to the carelessness of the priestess Chrysis [Thuc. iv. 133], and traces of the conflagration have been found in pieces of charred wood, discoloured bricks, and great stones split by heat. The second temple was built somewhat lower down the hill.

Ἡρακλῆς, c. 7.

According to the common legend, son of Zeus and Alcmena, the beneficent demigod whose heroic labours rid the earth of pests and monsters. His worship was carried far and wide by Greek settlers and he became identified with several foreign deities. Thus the Lydian Heracles is Sandan, a form of the oriental sun-god represented as an archer and tamer of lions (Joh. Lydus, *de magistr.* iii. 64), just as the Phoenician Heracles is Melcarth. Herodotus himself recognises two personages of the name, Heracles the immortal Olympian god and Heracles the hero [ii. 44].

Ἡρακλῆιδαι, cc. 7, 13, 14, 91.

A dynasty of Lydian kings, descended from Heracles and a slave-girl. Twenty-two generations of them, stretching over a period of 505 years, occupied the throne, Agron being the first and Candaules

the last of the line. King Cambles, Xanthus relates, ate his wife while he was asleep, and waking up in the morning to find nothing left of her but a hand, slew himself in horror at his deed. Another king, Aciamus, is reputed to have warred against Syria and to have founded Ascalon by means of his general Ascalus—a story as mythical as the last. Nicholas of Damascus [*Frag. Hist. Gr.* iii. pp. 380—386], who gives a genealogy of the Heracleidae, an account of their feud with the Mermnadae, and a romantic story about a prince named Ardys, makes Sadyattes, not Candaules, end the line. Lydian history can hardly be said to begin until Gyges, founder of the succeeding dynasty of the Mermnadae.

Ἡρακλείδης, c. 158.

Of Cyme, father of Aristodicus (q.v.). In v. 37 another Heracleides of Cyme is mentioned, father of Aristagoras, tyrant of the place in B.C. 500.

Ἥρη, c. 31.

Wife of Zeus, and the goddess who presided over marriage. The *ιερός γάμος* of Zeus and Hera was annually celebrated in a sort of mystery-play at Argos, Samos and elsewhere. At Argos she was regarded as the foundress of civilisation, the patroness of agriculture, and the goddess of religious song, *Προστυναία* (see Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, i. 186, 187). The great Argive festival, *Ἡραία*, was also called *Ἐκατόμβαια*, because of the great sacrifice which attended it, and *Ἄσπις* or *ἀγών χάλκειος* from a contest for a bronze shield which the competitors apparently had to strike down with their spears [*op. cit.* 187, 249]. The principal part of the festival was the ritual performance of the sacred marriage, at which the priestess [c. 31] probably played the part of *νυμφεύτρια*, or bridesmaid. See also *Ἡραίων*.

Ἡρόδοτος, c. 1.

See Introduction.

Θαλής, cc. 74, 75, 170.

A native of Miletus, said to be of Phoenician extraction [c. 170] because his mother, Cleobuline, belonged to the family of the Thelidae, who claimed descent from Cadmus. He was reckoned one of the Seven Sages, and was distinguished for his mathematical and astronomical knowledge, his political sagacity, and his philosophical speculations on the origin of the world, which he taught arose from a single primary element, water. He predicted the solar eclipse of B.C. 585 [c. 74], contrived an ingenious method of getting Croesus' army across the Halys [c. 75], and advised the political union of the Ionian cities of Asia [c. 170]. He lived about B.C. 624—546.

Θεόδωρος, c. 51.

A Samian artist, son of Telecles. He made the famous emerald signet ring of Polycrates [iii. 41] and a great silver bowl of fine workmanship presented by Croesus to Delphi [i. 51]. According to

Pausanias he discovered how to smelt iron and mould images out of it, and along with Rhoecus invented the art of fusing and casting bronze [iii. 12, 10; viii. 14, 8]. He was also an architect, and advised the laying down of charcoal cinders beneath the foundations of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus owing to the dampness of the site [Diog. Laert. ii. 103; but Diogenes calls him son of Rhoecus]. He wrote a treatise on the temple of Hera at Samos, in the construction of which he assisted Rhoecus. Some have held that there were two artists called Theodorus, the earlier one an architect, and the later a metal worker and gem engraver. But all the works mentioned above may well fall within the period of one man's artistic activity, say between B.C. 580 and 540.

Θεσσαλιώτις, c. 57.

A district in the south of Thessaly. But as Herodotus describes it as an ancient home of the Pelasgians, he is probably referring rather to what was commonly known as Pelasgiotis, lying to the north-east of Thessaliotis and to the east of Histiaeotis (q.v.) around the river Peneus and containing the important town of Larisa.

Θῆβαι (1), cc. 52, 92. **Θηβαῖοι**, c. 61.

The chief city of Boeotia. It stood on the north side of a low hill overlooking a wide and fertile plain watered by the river Ismenus. It was believed to have been founded by the Phoenician Cadmus, hence its citadel on the south side of the town was called the Cadmeia. It did not attain great importance until after the decline of Orchomenus, which in the heroic age was one of the wealthiest and most powerful states of Greece, compelling Thebes itself to pay tribute. The temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, to which Croesus sent offerings [cc. 52, 92], probably stood on the hill of *Hagios Loukas* (St Luke) on the west side of the Ismenus, south-east of the modern town. The Thebans were active supporters of the exiled Peisistratus [c. 61].

Θῆβαι (2), c. 182. **Ζεὺς Θηβαίεύς**, c. 182.

Thebes (Egyptian *Tep*, 'the head') was the capital of Upper Egypt. It lay in a spacious plain, nine days' voyage up the river from Heliopolis [ii. 9], and occupied an enormous area of ground. It was a great commercial city, famous for its linen manufacture—the Egyptian priests being prohibited the use of wool—and lying on an important caravan route between the interior of Libya and the Red Sea. The *Iliad* [ix. 381] mentions the riches of 'hundred-gated' Thebes. It was the centre of the worship of Amen or Ammon, called by Herodotus the Theban Zeus, whose temple he legendarily connects not only with the shrine of Zeus Ammon in the Libyan desert, but also with the oracle at Dodona [ii. 54—57]. Thebes suffered severely at the hands of the Persian Cambyses and never recovered from the blow.

Θόρναξ, c. 69.

Thornax was a few miles north of Sparta, between it and Sellasia [Paus. iii. 10, 8]. Stephanus Byzantinus calls it a mountain, and Prof.

Curtius identifies it with the hill between the Oenus and the Eurotas, where the remains of an ancient chapel have been found. Dr J. G. Frazer, however, supposing that the 'precinct in the plain' passed by the Theban army on its march from Sellasia to Sparta [Xenophon, *Hellen.* vi. 5, 27] was the sanctuary of Apollo at Thornax, would regard it not as a mountain but as a place in the level valley of the Eurotas. (Note on Pausanias iii. 10, 8.)

Θρασύβουλος, cc. 20—23.

Despot of Miletus during the war waged by Alyattes against the place. By an ostentatious display of provisions during the visit of a Lydian herald he created a false impression of the city's resources, and induced Alyattes to make peace. This trick was suggested to him by information received from his guest-friend, Periander of Corinth (q.v.). He appears to have been cunning and cruel, and, thinks Herodotus, had a bad influence upon Periander [v. 92].

Θρήκες, Θρηίκη, c. 168.

Thrace extended from the Aegean, the Hellespont and the Propontis on the south as far north as the Ister (*Danube*), marching with Illyria on the west, and separated from Macedonia on the south-west by the river Strymon. Herodotus regards the Thracians as the most numerous race in the world and thinks that, should they be ruled over by one man or unite in common action, they would be irresistible [v. 3]. See also *Ἄβδηρα*.

Θυνοί, c. 28.

The early home of the Thyni was in the south-east of Thrace, but a part of them crossed into Asia with the cognate tribe of the Bithyni (q.v.) and settled in what came to be known as Bithynia, in the district between the Thracian Bosphorus and the river Sangarius. A small island near Calpe was called after them Thynias.

Θυρήη or Θυραί, c. 82.

The capital of Thyreatis, a district on the east coast of the Peloponnese, consisting of a small but fertile plain backed by lofty hills. The exact position of Thyrea has not been made out. Thyreatis formed the northern portion of the territory of Cynuria which was so long an object of contention between the Spartans and the Argives (q.v.). In B.C. 431 it was given by Sparta to the Aeginetans when expelled from their island by the Athenians. After the battle of Chaeronea it was restored to the Argives by Philip of Macedon and continued to belong to them in the time of Pausanias [ii. 38, 5].

Ἰάρδανος, c. 7.

Father of the Lydian queen, Omphale, whom Heracles served for three years to atone for the murder of Iphitus. A female slave of Iardanus, by name Malis, was ancestress of the Heracleidae.

Ἰβηρία, c. 163.

The Greek name for the Spanish peninsula. Herodotus' knowledge of the country was confined to the east coast, the Pillars of Heracles (*Straits of Gibraltar*), the district of Tartessus with the Phoenician colony of Gadeira (*Cadiz*), and the land of the Cynesii, the westernmost inhabitants of Europe [ii. 33] who dwelt near the modern *Cape St Vincent*.

Ἴδη, c. 151.

A mountain range in Mysia and the Troad, rising in places to a height of over 4000 feet. The main chain extends eastwards from the promontory of Lectum along the north coast of the bay of Adramyttium, but it sends out lofty spurs to the Hellespont and the Propontis. It is well-wooded, and the source of numerous streams, hence the Homeric epithet *πολυπίδαξ* (*Il.* viii. 47), 'many-fountained.'

Ἰήλυσος, c. 144.

A Doric town in the north of the island of Rhodes near the site of the later city of Rhodes (built B.C. 408). The name still survives in the modern village of *Ialiso*.

Ἴλιον, c. 5.

Also called *Τροία*. The site of Troy was fixed by Dr Schliemann at the hill of Hissarlik on the east side of the valley of the Scamander, about three miles from the sea, where the remains of at least six cities, built one over another, have been unearthed.

Ἰλλύριοι, c. 196.

The inhabitants of Illyria, the district along the east coast of the Adriatic between Istria and Epirus, bounded on the east by Thrace and Macedonia. The Eneti (q.v.), who are described by Herodotus as Illyrians, must have migrated northward round the head of the Adriatic.

Ἰναχος, c. 1.

Father of Io (q.v.), legendary king and one of the chief heroes of Argos. His connexion with the river Inachus shows that he was originally a river-god.

Ἰνδικὸν κύνες, c. 192.

The name India first occurs in the geographical treatise of Hecataeus (circ. B.C. 520), but the India of Hecataeus and Herodotus did not extend further east than the Indus. Herodotus thought the country beyond an uninhabited sandy waste [iii. 98]. India was the twentieth satrapy of the Persian empire and paid a tribute of 360 talents of gold-dust [iii. 94].

Ἰσπάρης, c. 61.

The eldest son of Peisistratus. During his father's exile at Eretria he strongly urged him to attempt to recover his power, and so was responsible for the landing at Marathon and the subsequent reestablish-

ment of the tyranny. Upon the death of Peisistratus he succeeded to the throne, and with his brother Hipparchus ruled with wisdom and beneficence until the latter's assassination by Harmodius and Aristogeiton (B.C. 514), when he degenerated into a cruel and suspicious tyrant. He was expelled in B.C. 510, and after an unsuccessful attempt by the Lacedaemonians to bring about his restoration [v. 90 f.], went to Asia and stirred up the Persians against Athens [v. 96]. He was thus in part answerable for a second and more important landing at Marathon (B.C. 490), when the Athenians, instead of tamely submitting to the invader, covered themselves with imperishable glory.

Ἴπποκράτης, c. 59.

Father of Peisistratus. He claimed descent from Nestor [v. 65].

Ἴππόλοχος, c. 147.

Son of Bellerophon and father of Glaucus (q.v.).

Ἴς, c. 179.

A town of Mesopotamia, eight days' journey from Babylon, situated on a river of the same name. It is the modern *Hit* or *Ait*, which is about 125 miles north-west of Babylon as the crow flies, where the Euphrates enters the alluvial plain. The river *Ἴς* appears to be a collection of "springs throwing out abundantly a kind of black substance, like unto tar and pitch, which serveth all the countries thereabouts to make staunch their barks and boats, every one of which springs maketh a noise like a smith's forge in puffing and blowing out the matter, which never ceaseth night nor day, and the noise is heard a mile off, swallowing up all weighty things that come upon it." (Quoted by Rawlinson from a *Collection of Voyages and Travels* from the Library of the Earl of Oxford. London, 1745, vol. ii. p. 752.) The place is called *Ἰδίκαρα* by Ptolemy [v. 20], *Ἀείπολις* by Isidore of Charax in his *Σταθμοὶ Παρθικοί*.

Ἴσμήνιος, cc. 52, 92.

A title under which Apollo was worshipped at Thebes (q.v.). His sanctuary was on a hill above the river Ismenus, and was visited by Herodotus who saw three tripods there engraved with 'Cadmeian characters' (v. 59). It has been suggested that the name Ismenus is a corruption of Eshmun, a Phoenician god.

Ἴσσηδόνες, c. 201.

A tribe living eastward of the Argippaei (iv. 25) and bordering upon the Massagetae. They apparently inhabited the steppes between the *Ural* and *Altai* mountains. 'Their women,' says Herodotus, 'have equal rights with their men.' When the father of a family died his relatives ate him but kept his skull which they gilded over and treasured as a sacred relic [iv. 26].

Ἴστιαῖωτις, c. 57.

The northern division of Thessaly between Olympus and Ossa on the east and Pindus on the west.

Ἴστρος, c. 202.

The Danube which, according to Herodotus, flows through Europe from end to end, and is the biggest river that he knows. It rises, he thinks, near the city of Pyrene in the country of the Celts beyond the pillars of Hercules, and in the upper part of its course receives the Alps and the Carpis on the right bank and the Maris (*Maros* and *Theiss*) on the left. Lower down in Scythia it receives the Porata (*Preuth*), and many other tributaries, and falls into the Euxine, with its mouth facing south-east [ii. 33 : iv. 48, 49, 99]. The mistakes in the above account are interesting. The Ister is conceived to rise somewhere near the Pyrenees, described as a city instead of a mountain range, while the Alps and Carpathians are turned into rivers.

Ἰταλῆ, cc. 24, 145.

The name was originally confined to the extreme southern point of Italy, the small peninsula which lay south of the isthmus between the Napetine and Scylletic Gulfs, and was afterwards known as Bruttium. In the time of Herodotus it had a somewhat wider application, and according to Antiochus of Syracuse (circ. B.C. 425) signified the district bounded on the north by a line drawn from Metapontum to the river Laus; the later Calabria, i.e. the so-called *heel*, being then known as Iapygia. In c. 24, however, Herodotus seems to include Tarentum in Italy. On the west coast to the north of Ἰταλῆ lay Oenotria. The only other parts of the Italian peninsula which he mentions are Tyrrhenia and the country of the Eneti.

Ἴω, cc. 1, 2, 5.

Daughter of Inachus, king of Argos, kidnapped by the Phoenicians and carried away to Egypt. In the common legend she is represented as beloved of Zeus who metamorphosed her into a white cow in order to elude the jealousy of Hera. But she was soon discovered by Hera and tormented with a gadfly which mercilessly drove her from land to land till at last she came to rest in Egypt.

Ἴωνες, cc. 6, 18, 26—28, 74, 76, 139, 141—143, 145—153, 157, 169—171. Ἴός, c. 92. Ἰάδες πόλεις, cc. 142, 149. Ἴωνίη, cc. 6, 91, 142, 146, 152, 162, 163, 168—171, 174. Ἴωνικὸν γένος, cc. 56, 143.

The Ionians, one of the great branches of the Hellenic race, at one time inhabited twelve cities in the district afterwards known as Achaea. Subsequently they migrated to Attica, and thence colonised the maritime district of Asia Minor from the river Hermus to a little south of Miletus. This strip of coast, together with the islands of Chios and Samos, was known as Ionia, a region possessing in Herodotus' opinion the finest climate in the world, though hardly so fertile as the neighbouring Aeolis [cc. 142, 149]. Like the ancient settlement in Achaea, it comprised twelve cities [c. 142], the principal of which were Ephesus and Miletus, founded it is said from Athens by Androclus and Neileus, sons of Codrus. About B.C. 700 the Aeolian town of Smyrna by an act of

treachery came into the hands of the Ionians [c. 150]. Although the Athenians had a strong dislike to the name Ionian, the Asiatic representatives of the race were very proud of it, claiming to be the Ionians *par excellence*, though as Herodotus points out, their claim was somewhat vitiated by the admixture of Carian, Lydian, and other foreign blood in their veins, due to intermarriage with the native inhabitants. Herodotus' own tests for an Ionian are tracing descent from Athens and keeping the feast of Apaturia [c. 147]. The Ionians annually assembled at the temple of Poseidon on the promontory of Mycale, or later at Ephesus, for religious celebrations and the discussion of political affairs [cc. 148, 170]. Four dialects of Greek were spoken in Ionia [c. 142]. The country was always liable to attacks from the Asiatic peoples of the interior. It was plundered by the Cimmerians [c. 6], constantly threatened by the Lydian monarchs, and finally absorbed in the empire of Croesus, except the islands which he could not reach owing to his want of a fleet [c. 27]. After the fall of Lydia the Ionians opened negotiations with Cyrus, but meeting with a rebuff, applied to Sparta for aid [c. 141]. All but the Milesians, who had come to terms with Cyrus, were reduced to subjection by Harpagus, or else like the Phocaeans and Teians sought new homes in distant countries [cc. 164—168]. Even the islanders submitted to Persia [c. 169]. Their treatment does not seem to have been oppressive. They still continued their meetings at Mycale [c. 170], though they had to provide contingents to assist in the subjugation of Caria and Lycia [c. 171].

Καδμείοι, cc. 56, 146. **Καδμείη νίκη**, c. 166.

The Phoenician followers of Cadmus, son of the Tyrian prince Agenor. Cadmus set out from Tyre in search of his sister Europa and after visiting the island of Thera came to Boeotia where he built Thebes with the citadel Cadmeia. Apart from this legendary account there is a good deal of evidence for the existence of a Phoenician settlement in Thebes (see Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, i. 97). The 'Cadmeian letters' [v. 59] seen by Herodotus on certain tripods in the temple of Ismenian Apollo were probably early Greek imitations of Semitic characters, such as are found in archaic inscriptions from Thera. But whether Thebes was actually settled by Phoenicians or not, it was certainly inhabited by a people called Cadmeians, who are mentioned in c. 146 as assisting in the colonisation of Asia Minor (cp. art. Πιρήνη). The later mythical history of the Cadmeians represents them as expelled from Thebes by the Argives and migrating to Illyria [v. 61]. Perhaps their dislodgment of the Dorians from Histiaeotis is to be connected with their march through Thessaly northward [c. 56]. Cadmus became king of Illyria and reigned there with his wife Harmonia until they were both turned into dragons and transported to Elysium. The name Cadmus is said to mean 'Eastern.'

Καλυνδικοί οὔροι, c. 172.

Calynda was a town of Caria on the Lycian frontier. It lay some 60 stades from the sea (Strabo, p. 651), apparently near the eastern bank of the river Indus, modern *Dalaman-tchai*.

Καμβύσης (1), cc. 46, 73, 107, 108, 111, 122, 124, 207.

Father of Cyrus the Great. He was, says Herodotus, a Persian of good descent but quiet temperament,—qualities which commended him to the Median monarch Astyages who gave him his daughter Mandane in marriage [c. 107]. But Xenophon [*Cyrop.* i. 2, 1] is more correct in describing him as *king* of Persia, which was then more or less independent of Media. He was son of Cyrus [c. 111]—not of Teispes, as stated in vii. 11, where see Macan's note.

Καμβύσης (2), c. 208.

Son of Cyrus. His father marked him out as his successor and entrusted him with the care of Croesus before the fatal conflict with the Massagetae. In 529 he became king of Persia and four years later effected the conquest of Egypt, outraging its religion and illtreating its priests [iii. 29]. To his insensate profanity the Egyptians attributed the madness which subsequently overtook him. During his absence from Persia two Magians raised a rebellion, one of them impersonating his half-brother Smerdis, whom he had himself put to death [iii. 61—64]. The news was brought to him in Syria, and when on the point of marching back to quell the revolt he accidentally wounded himself in the thigh and died about 20 days after (B.C. 521).

Κάμιρος, c. 144.

A town on the north coast of Rhodes, one of the six cities of the Doric Hexapolis.

Κανδαύλης, cc. 7, 8, 10—13.

Candaules, or Myrsilus, the last of the Heracleid kings of Lydia, was assassinated by Gyges, a member of his body-guard, at the instigation of his queen who desired revenge for a gross indignity inflicted upon her by her husband. Nicholas of Damascus has a somewhat different story of the death of this prince, whom he calls Sadyattes. Gyges had offered an insult to Sadyattes' future queen while conducting her to Lydia from the court of her father, Arnossus, king of Mysia. Hearing that he was about to be put to death for this offence, he collected his friends and reminding them of an ancestral curse upon the Heracleid dynasty entered the palace and slew Sadyattes in his bed-chamber. Plato [*Rep.* ii. 360 B] agrees with Herodotus that the queen was an accomplice in the murder. Plutarch [*Quaest. Graec.* 45, p. 302 A] speaks of a war between Candaules and Gyges (*ἐπεὶ δὲ Γύγης ἀποστὰς ἐπολέμει πρὸς αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.*).

Καπποδόκαι, c. 72. **Καππαδοκίη**, cc. 71, 73, 76.

Cappadocia in its widest sense is the district between Armenia on the east, the Halys on the west, the Euxine on the north, and the Taurus range on the south. But as Herodotus describes the Halys as flowing through Cilicia [c. 72] and therefore south of Cappadocia, he must have placed the southern boundary of the country far north of the Taurus, north indeed of the Halys. He follows the ordinary delimitation in making the Halys and Phrygia its western confines [v. 49, 52].

Cappadocia was divided by the Persians into two satrapies, which after the time of Alexander became separate kingdoms, the southern bearing the simple name Cappadocia, the latter known as Cappadocia on the Pontus or, more shortly, Pontus. The name Cappadocia is Persian and appears in Persian inscriptions as *Katapataka*. Its inhabitants were called Syrians (q.v.) by the Greeks [i. 72, v. 49], and were in part no doubt of Semitic origin.

Κάρ, c. 171.

Brother of Lydus and Mysus, eponymous ancestor of the Carians.

Κάρης, cc. 28, 171, 172, 174. **Κάειρα,** cc. 92, 146. **Καρία,** cc. 142, 175. **Καρικόν ἔθνος,** cc. 171, 172. **Καρικὸν νόμοι,** c. 171. **Ζεὺς Κάριος,** c. 171.

Caria was a district of Asia Minor stretching from the Maeander to the frontiers of Lycia and Phrygia. Its inhabitants regarded themselves as natives of the soil, closely akin to the Mysians and Lydians, pointing in proof to their common worship of the Carian Zeus at Mylasa. The Cretan story was that they once inhabited the Islands and were subjects of Minos, being then called Leleges; later they were driven to the mainland by the Ionians and Dorians [c. 71]. According to Thucydides [i. 4] it was Minos himself who expelled them. They formed part of Croesus' empire [c. 28] and later fell an easy prey to Harpagus [c. 174]. The Greek colonies in Caria contained no small admixture of Carian blood, as the early settlers took to themselves native wives [c. 146]. The Carians are credited with three inventions, crests on helmets, handles to shields and heraldic devices thereon. It is clear that at one time they were an important power in the islands of the Aegean. They even settled on the mainland of Greece, at Megara, where the citadel was called Caria [Paus. i. 40, 6], at Epidaurus and at Hermione [Strabo viii. p. 374].

Καρχηδόνιοι, cc. 166, 167.

The inhabitants of Carthage, a Phoenician settlement on the north coast of Africa. They rapidly made themselves masters of a large continental territory and established colonies in Spain, Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily, where they came into violent conflict with their commercial rivals, the Greeks, whose colonial expansion had seriously affected Phoenician trade in the Mediterranean. Thus about B.C. 600 they unsuccessfully resisted the foundation of Massilia [Thuc. i. 13] and about B.C. 540 in conjunction with the Tyrrhenians fought a great battle with the Phocaeans of Alalia, compelling them to abandon Corsica [Herod. i. 166].

Κασπία θάλασσα, cc. 202—204.

Herodotus, followed by Aristotle, rightly regards the Caspian as an inland sea. Other writers generally thought it a gulf of the Northern Ocean. It is bounded, he says, by the Caucasus on the west, by illimitable steppes on the east [c. 204], and is a fifteen days' row in length, and an eight days' row in breadth. The actual dimensions are about 700 by 300 miles.

Καύκασος, cc. 203, 204. **Καυκάσιον ὄρος**, c. 104.

The Caucasus, 'highest of mountains' [c. 203, cp. Aesch. *P.V.* 719], rises abruptly from the Euxine and extends in one unbroken range to the shores of the Caspian. It mounts in one place to over 18,000 feet and there are only two practicable routes across it, the Pylae Caucasiae in the centre of the chain, the modern military pass of *Dariel*, and the Pylae Caspiae through *Derbend* round its eastern end.

Καύκωνες, c. 147.

A very ancient race settled in Triphylia [iv. 148; Homer, *Odys.* iii. 366], Hollow Elis and western Achaëa, where there was a small stream called Caucon; also on the coast of Bithynia and Paphlagonia where they occupied the city of Tieium. They were driven out of Triphylia by the Minyans [iv. 148].

Καῦνος, c. 176. **Καύνιοι**, cc. 171, 172, 176. **Καυρικὸν ἔθνος**, c. 172.

The town of Caunus lay in the south-east of Caria near the coast on the right bank of a stream flowing from a large lake some ten miles inland (cp. Rawlinson's note on c. 172). Thucydides [i. 116] speaks as though he did not include Caunus in Caria but regarded it as a distinct district. The inhabitants appear to have been Lycians, though their own story was that they came from Crete. They spoke a language similar to that of the Carians, but had different customs [c. 172].

Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος, c. 174.

The gulf between Halicarnassus and Cnidus, at the mouth of which is the island of Cos. It was so called from the town of Ceramus on its northern shore.

Κίλικες, cc. 28, 72. **Κίλιξ**, c. 74.

The Cilicia of Herodotus extended from Pamphylia to the Euphrates and from the Mediterranean to beyond the Halys (q.v.). Later its northern boundary was the Taurus range, its eastern Mt Amanus. Its population was of Semitic origin, being traditionally connected with Phoenicia [vii. 91].

Κίλλα, c. 149.

An Aeolian city, placed by Strabo (p. 612) near Thebe at the head of the gulf of Adramyttium. It is only mentioned here and in *Iliad* i. 36.

Κιμμέριοι, cc. 6, 15, 16, 103.

According to Herodotus the Cimmerians were driven from their homes near the Sea of Azof by an invasion of the nomad Scythians. Skirting the eastern shore of the Euxine they entered Asia Minor by way of Colchis, established a settlement at Sinope [iv. 12], and in the reign of Ardys invaded Lydia, taking Sardis all but the citadel and plundering Ionia. They were expelled from Asia—or rather, from the Lydian empire—by Alyattes. There are difficulties in Herodotus' account. It would be almost impossible for a nomad people to travel with their wagons along the eastern edge of the Euxine, where the Caucasus

falls abruptly into the sea, and it is known from an Assyrian inscription that the 'Gimiri' appeared in Lydia during the reign of Ardys' predecessor Gyges (q.v.) who was slain in battle with them. Previously to this they had been defeated by Esarhaddon on the northern frontier of Assyria (B.C. 679). Eusebius tells us that they captured Sardis in B.C. 1076. But this statement must be purely mythical. Homer only knows of them as a people dwelling in a land of mist and cloud on the shore of Ocean, never seeing the sun, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νύξ ὀλοή τέταται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι [*Od.* xi. 13—19]. The truth appears to be that the Cimmerians entered Asia Minor in the eighth century, and with the associated tribe of the Treres roamed over the country until the reign of Alyattes (B.C. 610—560), their attacks culminating in the time of Gyges when they captured Sardis, burnt the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, overran the valley of the Maeander and sacked Magnesia. The fear which they inspired is reflected in the poems of Callinus of Ephesus who sings νῦν δ' ἐπὶ Κιμμερίων στρατὸς ἔρχεται ὄβριμοεργῶν and prays heaven to have pity on his countrymen. A horde under Lygdamis, who had led the attack on the temple of the Ephesian Artemis, penetrated into Cilicia and was cut to pieces almost to a man, the Greeks regarding the disaster as a divine retribution for their sacrilege at Ephesus. They seem to have long retained small settlements at Antandrus and Sinope, but it is not known what happened to the main body after their expulsion from Hither Asia by Alyattes. Their name still survives in Crimea, Crim-Tartary. The Cimbri were possibly of kindred race, and Professor Ridgeway holds that the name is even now to be found in the Welsh Kymry (*Cambridge Philological Society's Proceedings*, 1908, p. 5).

Κλαζομεναί, cc. 16, 142. **Κλαζομένιοι**, c. 51. **Κλαζομένιος**, c. 168.

Clazomenae was a city of Ionia on the Lydian coast, between Smyrna and Erythrae. The name is said to refer to the 'screaming' swans which abound in the neighbourhood, and are represented on the coins of the city. It was originally on the mainland, but fear of the Persians induced its inhabitants to remove to a small island just off the shore. The bulk of its population was not Ionian, but consisted of refugees from Phlius and Cleonae, expelled by the Dorians [*Paus.* vii. 3, 9]. The Clazomenians successfully repelled an invasion by Alyattes [c. 16]. They attempted to settle a colony at Abdera in Thrace [c. 168], and in concert with the Milesians founded the important city of Cardia [*Strabo*, vii. p. 331]. They carried on trade with Egypt [ii. 178] and had a treasury at Delphi [c. 51].

Κλέοβις, c. 31.

An Argive, brother of Biton (q.v.).

Κνίδος, c. 144. **Κνίδιοι**, c. 174. **Κνιδίη χώρα**, c. 174.

A Lacedaemonian colony, situated on the Triopian promontory at the end of a long peninsula jutting out from the coast of Caria. It was built partly on an island (*Cape Crio*), joined to the mainland by a causeway on either side of which was a good harbour [*Strabo*, p. 656].

In the island was the temple of Triopian Apollo, the meeting-place of the Dorian confederacy. The Cnidian territory extended eastward to Bybassus where is the isthmus which the Cnidians started to cut through in order to secure themselves against the Persian attack.

Κόδρος, c. 147.

Son of Melanthus (q.v.), according to tradition the seventeenth and last king of Athens. When the Dorians invaded Attica, they were warned by an oracle that victory would only be theirs if they avoided slaying the king. Codrus therefore disguised himself as a common man, and entering the hostile camp, picked a quarrel with some soldiers. He was slain in the fray which ensued and thus robbed the enemy of victory. The Athenians showed the spot where he fell [Paus. i. 19, 5]. His sons, Neileus and Androclus, are said to have founded Miletus and Ephesus respectively. His descent from the Neleidae of Pylos accounts for the Pylian Caucones claiming him as their ancestor [c. 147].

Κολοφών, cc. 14, 16, 142. Κολοφώνιοι, cc. 147, 150.

An Ionian city in Lydia between Ephesus and Lebedus. Thucydides [iii. 34] calls it *ἡ ἄνω πόλις*, as distinct from its port Notium some eight miles away. The unwall'd portion of the town was captured by Gyges [c. 14]. The Colophonians, unlike other Ionians, did not celebrate the festival of Apaturia [c. 147].

Κόλχοι, cc. 2, 104. Κολχίς, c. 104. Αἶα ἡ Κολχίς, c. 2.

Colchis was a district on the eastern shore of the Euxine, south of the Caucasus, the residence of the legendary king Aetes and his daughter Medea [c. 2]. The Colchians were a dark-skinned, curly-headed race, practising circumcision and presenting a general similarity in language and customs to the Egyptians,—characteristics which Herodotus thinks point conclusively to their Egyptian origin [ii. 104].

Κόρινθος, cc. 23, 24. Κορίνθιοι, cc. 14, 23, 24, 50, 51.

Corinth lay on the north side of the narrow isthmus between the Saronic and Corinthian Gulfs. It was admirably situated for purposes of defence and trade, commanding with its lofty citadel, Acrocorinthus, the passes into the Peloponnese, and connected by long walls with the harbour of Lechaëum, while eight miles to the east lay the port of Cenchreae on the opposite coast. Under the Bacchiad oligarchy Corinth displayed vigorous commercial activity, colonised Syracuse and Corcyra (B.C. 734), and created a powerful navy, being the first state to build triremes [Thuc. i. 13]. The same active policy was continued by the tyrants Cypselus and Periander (q.v.), who in addition gave their patronage to literature and art [cp. c. 23].

Κράθις, c. 145.

A river of Achaea, modern *Akrata*, flowing into the sea at Aegae, and in the upper part of its course receiving a tributary stream from the mysterious waterfall of Styx [vi. 74]. It gave its name to the Italian

Crathis, which rose in the mountains of Bruttium, and flowing past Thurii, entered the Tarentine Gulf near Sybaris [v. 45].

Κρηστών, Κρηστωνιῆται, c. 57.

Crestonia was a district of Macedonia north of Chalcidice. It adjoined Mygdonia, and contained the sources of the river Cheidorus [vii. 127]. Creston, only mentioned here and by Stephanus of Byzantium, must have been the capital city. Its inhabitants were Pelasgians (see note on c. 57).

Κρήτη, cc. 65, 172, 173. **Κρήτες**, cc. 2, 171.

The long narrow island of Crete, forming the southern boundary of the Aegean Sea, was one of the most important centres of early civilisation in the Mediterranean. The legends clustering round the name of king Minos (q.v.) are proved by the recent excavations at Cnossus to have a real historical basis. The Minoan empire was largely maritime. The Cretans narrated that they were once overlords of the Carians and drew upon them for seamen to man their ships [c. 171]. They early had an unenviable reputation for piracy [c. 2]. The institutions of Lycurgus were, according to the Spartan story, derived from Crete [c. 65]. Both Lycians and Caunians claimed a Cretan origin [cc. 172, 173]. The population of Crete in historical times was very mixed. In addition to Eteocretes, Homer mentions Achaeans, Dorians, and Pelasgians [*Od.* xix. 175—177]. There was also a strong Phoenician element in the island.

Κροῖσος, cc. 6, 7, 26—28, 30—38, 40, 41, 43—49, 51, 53—56, 59, 65, 67, 69—71, 73, 75—81, 83—93, 95, 130, 141, 153, 155, 156, 207, 208, 211.

Croesus, son of Alyattes, the last king of Lydia, succeeded to the throne in B.C. 560. He made war on Ephesus and subdued one by one all the Greek cities of Asia Minor [cc. 6, 26], but refrained from attacking the islanders upon the advice of Bias [c. 27]. His empire finally embraced the whole district west of Cilicia and the Halys, with the sole exception of Lycia [c. 28]. His court was visited by the sages of Greece, including Solon, who discoursed with him on the vanity of human happiness [cc. 29—33]. The tragic death of his son Atys is described in cc. 33—45. Alarmed by the growing power of Persia he meditated an attack on Cyrus and as a preliminary measure consulted the oracles of Greece, rewarding those of the Delphian Apollo and Amphiaraus with magnificent gifts [cc. 46—52]. His mind was made up by the ambiguous responses of the Pythia [cc. 53—55], and after making an alliance with Sparta [cc. 69, 70] he crossed the Halys and invaded Cappadocia where he fought an indecisive battle with Cyrus at Pteria [cc. 75, 76]. Returning to Sardis he summoned his allies, the Spartans, Egyptians, and Babylonians [c. 77], but before their arrival was surprised by Cyrus, who defeated him in the plain of the Hermus, captured Sardis, and took him prisoner [cc. 80, 86]. Legend says that when about to be burnt by his captor he was preserved by a miraculous storm of rain which extinguished the flames [c. 87]. He subsequently

became the trusty councillor of Cyrus, advising him as to the treatment of the conquered Lydians [cc. 155, 156] and the conduct of his expedition against the Massagetæ [c. 207]. Before his death Cyrus entrusted him to the care of his son Cambyses [c. 208]. Croesus accompanied Cambyses to Egypt, and narrowly escaped with his life because he ventured to admonish his royal master for a cruel murder [iii. 36]. The time and circumstances of his death are unknown. The wealth of Croesus [cp. cc. 30, 50 ; vi. 125] was proverbial.

Κραξάρης, cc. 16, 46, 73, 103, 106, 107.

Son of Phraortes (q.v.), third king of Media, according to Herodotus. He was a warlike monarch, and organised the military resources of his empire. Eager to avenge his father's death he marched against the Assyrians, defeated them in a pitched battle, and was besieging Nineveh, when he was called away by an invasion of the Scythians, who terrorised his dominions for 28 years [cc. 103—106]. After expelling the Scythians he captured Nineveh and subjugated the Assyrians, thus uniting under his rule 'the whole of Asia above the Halys' [c. 103] except Babylonia [c. 106]. He engaged in war with Alyattes (q.v.) king of Lydia (B.C. 590—585).

Κύθηρα, c. 105. ἡ **Κυθηρῆν νῆσος**, c. 82.

An island, some 20 miles long by 10 broad, off the south-eastern peninsula of Laconia. It was an ancient settlement of the Phoenicians who valued it for its purple fisheries. They brought with them the worship of the Syrian Aphrodite and built her a temple at the town of Cythera, modern *Palæo-Kastro*, on the east side of the island. The temple columns, eight in number, of archaic Doric style, are built into a chapel occupying the old site [see Frazer on Paus. iii. 23, 1]. Cythera once belonged to the Argives [c. 82] but afterwards came into the possession of Sparta. The Athenians captured it in B.C. 424 and used it as a base from which to annoy Laconia.

Κύμη, cc. 149, 157—160. **Κυμαῖοι**, cc. 157, 160.

A city on the coast of Aeolis north of the Hermus. It was called Phriconis after Phricium, a mountain of Locris near Thermopylae, the original home of its Aeolian settlers. It was the largest and finest of the Aeolian cities, and in conjunction with Chalcis founded Cumæ in Campania.

Κυνώ, cc. 110, 122.

Wife of the herdsman Mitradates, and foster-mother of Cyrus.

Κύπρος, cc. 72, 105, 199. **Κύπριοι**, c. 105.

The island of Cyprus lying off the coast of Cilicia was at an early period colonised by Phoenicians, who brought with them the worship of the Syrian Aphrodite [c. 105 ; cp. also c. 199]. Homer [*Od.* viii. 363] mentions her cult at Paphos, *ἐνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις*. The ruins of her great Paphian temple are still visible. Amathus to

the east of Paphos was another important centre of Aphrodite worship. In addition to Phoenicians, the population of the island comprised Ethiopians and Greek colonists from Athens, Salamis, Arcadia, and Cythnus [vii. 90]. Cyprus became subject to king Amasis [ii. 182], but upon the Egyptian expedition of Cambyses surrendered to Persia [iii. 19], remaining more or less under the Persian yoke until the partition of Alexander's empire, when it fell to the lot of Ptolemy.

Κύπρος (1), cc. 165—167.

The Greek name for the island which the Romans following the natives called Corsica. The origin of the appellation *Κύπρος* is obscure (cp. next *art.*). About B.C. 564 the Phocaeans settled at Alalia (q.v.), but some 25 years afterwards were forced by the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians to evacuate the island, which, according to Diodorus [v. 13], passed into the hands of the Tyrrhenians. Carthaginian influence later became strong in the island. Herodotus [vii. 165] mentions 'Cyrnians' in Hamilcar's army defeated by Gelon and Theron at Himera (B.C. 480).

Κύπρος (2), c. 167.

A hero, reputed to be the son of Heracles [Servius *ad Virg. Ecl.* ix. 30]. Apparently his sole function was to provide a respectable origin for the obscure name of the island of Cyrenus.

Κύρος (1), cc. 46, 54, 71—73, 75—77, 79, 80, 84, 86—91, 95, 108, 113—116, 120—130, 141, 152—157, 160, 162, 169, 177, 178, 183, 188—191, 201, 202, 204—214.

Book I. is largely occupied with the history of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian empire. He is described by Herodotus as the son of the Persian Cambyses and Mandane, daughter of Astyages the Mede. The romantic legend of his preservation and upbringing by shepherds, ending in Astyages' recognition of his grandson's identity, is narrated in cc. 107—122. When grown to manhood he headed a revolt of the Persians, and overthrew the Median kingdom [cc. 123—130]. Attacked by Croesus, he turned his arms westward, captured Sardis (B.C. 546), and received the submission of Lydia [cc. 75—81, 86—88]. After rejecting the overtures of the Ionian and Aeolian Greeks, and contemptuously replying to a Spartan protest, he returned to Persia [cc. 152—154]. He soon had to send Mazares to quell a revolt in Lydia [cc. 154—162], and then completed the conquest of Asia Minor by his general Harpagus [cc. 162—177]. Next he marched against Babylon and took the city (B.C. 538) by diverting the river Euphrates [cc. 188—191]. He lost his life (B.C. 529) in an expedition against the Massagetae [cc. 201—215]. The Persians regarded Cyrus as an incomparable benefactor [iii. 160], a father to his people, 'because he devised for them all things good' [iii. 89]. The early part of this account is not historical. Cyrus was king of Ansan (Susiana) when he overthrew Astyages, cp. note on c. 128. There is no evidence outside legend for any family relationship between the two.

Κῦρος (2), c. 111.

Father of Cambyses and grandfather of Cyrus the Great.

Κύψελος, c. 14.

Tyrant of Corinth, B.C. 655—625. Son of Aëtion and Labda, an oracle prophesied that he would become powerful in Corinth. The oligarchic Bacchiadae therefore plotted to murder him, but he was saved by his mother hiding him in a chest,—hence his name Κύψελος. When grown to manhood he came forward as a popular leader, expelled the Bacchiadae, and established himself as tyrant. He dedicated a colossal golden statue of Zeus at Olympia, and built the treasury of the Corinthians at Delphi [c. 14].

Κῶς, c. 144.

An island off the coast of Caria, between the promontories of Halicarnassus and Cnidus, with a capital of the same name in its north-east corner. It was anciently called Meropis (cp. Thuc. viii. 41, *Κῶς ἢ Μεροπίς*). Cos was a member of the Dorian confederacy [c. 144]. It became subject to Persia, and about B.C. 500 was ruled by a certain Cadmus, who voluntarily resigned the government into the hands of the people [vii. 164]. There was an important cult of Aesculapius in the island, and a flourishing medical school which grew up round the sanctuary. Coan wine and 'Coae vestes' of fine semi-transparent gauze were famous.

Λαβύνητος (1), cc. 74, 188.

The Babylonian monarch who mediated between Alyattes and Cyaxares in B.C. 585. But the name is wrong. At that time Babylon was ruled by Nebuchadnezzar (B.C. 605—562), the king who led Judah into captivity.

Λαβύνητος (2), c. 77. Cp. c. 188.

King of Babylon at the time of its conquest by Cyrus, and once the ally of Croesus. The name is an imperfect attempt to Hellenise Nabonidus or Nabunahid, the last Babylonian king, who reigned B.C. 555—538. Herodotus describes him as son of Nitocris and Labynetus (1). Nabunahid however was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar.

Λακεδαίμων, cc. 67, 82. Λακεδαιμόνιοι, cc. 6, 51, 56, 65—70, 77, 82, 152, 153, 174. Λακεδαιμόνιος, c. 59. Λακεδαιμονίη γυνή, c. 4. Λάκων, c. 68.

Lacedaemon or Sparta, as it is indifferently called, was about B.C. 550 the leading Dorian state [c. 56]. At one time the Lacedaemonians had worse institutions than almost any other Greeks, and in particular avoided all dealings with strangers [c. 65]. But all this was altered by the legislation of Lycurgus. They became powerful and ambitious, and aspired to the conquest of all Arcadia. They therefore began a war with Tegea, which at first proved disastrous and did not end in

their victory until after B.C. 560 [cc. 65—68]. Shortly after this they entered into alliance with Croesus [cc. 69, 70], but when he asked for their active help were hampered by a war with Argos about Thyrea [c. 82]. However, in spite of their difficulties at home, they intended to send an army to Asia, but Sardis fell before their preparations were complete [c. 83]. They refused to give any assistance to their Asiatic kinsmen against Persia, merely despatching a vessel to watch events and sending a threatening message to Cyrus [c. 152]. The name 'Lacedaemonians' is sometimes used synonymously with 'Spartans' (q.v.), the citizens of Sparta descended from the old Dorian invaders, but frequently denotes the inhabitants of Laconia in general, 'Perioeci' or dwellers in the neighbouring towns, who though free had no voice in the government, and were liable to military service when called upon. A third element in the Laconian population was the 'Helots' or serfs. Sparta did not found many colonies. One of them, Cnidus, is mentioned in c. 174. Tarentum [c. 24] was another. Cp. *art.* "Αργος.

Λακρίνης, c. 152.

A Spartan sent to warn Cyrus against injuring the Greeks.

Λέβεδος, c. 142.

A city of Ionia, west of Colophon, south-east of Teos. It was inhabited by Carians until they were expelled by Ionians under Andraemon, son of Codrus. Lysimachus destroyed the place and moved its population to Ephesus; hence in Horace's time it was 'Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis vicus' [*Ep.* i. 11, 7]. Pausanias remarks that 'its warm baths are the most numerous and agreeable of any on the coast' (see Frazer's *Paus.* vii. 3, 5). The baths still exist and a few ruins mark the site of the town.

Λέλεγες, c. 171.

The name by which the Carians were known in the days of Minos, according to Herodotus. In Homer the Leleges are associated with Carians, Caucones, and Pelasgians as allies of the Trojans [*Il.* x. 429], and described as living at Pedasus [*Il.* xxi. 86] under Mt Ida. Strabo likewise connects them with the Carians, and adds that they once occupied the whole of Ionia. On the other hand, Aristotle (quoted by Strabo, vii. p. 321) regards them as natives of European Greece, placing them in Acarnania, Leucas, Locris, Boeotia, and Megaris. Peloponnesian tradition made them the original inhabitants of Laconia, once called Lelegia after their eponymous king Lelex [*Paus.* iv. 1, 1]. In Hesiod they are the people produced from the stones of the earth after the flood,—λεκτοῦς ἐκ γαίης λαοὺς πόρε Δευκαλίωνι sc. Ζεὺς,—and popular etymology explained them as a mixed race 'collected' (συλλέκτους) from various quarters [Strabo, vii. p. 322]. The truth seems to be that the Leleges were a seafaring people whose home was the coast of Asia Minor, but who in the course of their voyages settled, like the Carians, in many parts of European Hellas (see Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, i. 63, 72).

Λέσβος, cc. 151, 160, 202. **Λέσβιοι**, cc. 23, 24, 151.

An island off the Mysian coast at the mouth of the Gulf of Adramyttium. It is about 40 miles long by 25 broad and possesses two fine land-locked harbours. Its Aeolian inhabitants were originally settled in six independent townships, but one of them, Arisba, was enslaved by the Methymnaeans [c. 151], who subsequently shared with the Mytilenaeans the suzerainty of the whole island. The Lesbians, having nothing to fear from Cyrus owing to their insular position, did not make common cause with the Ionians against him [c. 151], though in the end they appear to have submitted to Harpagus [cp. c. 169]. Darius established a certain Coes as tyrant in Mytilene [v. 11], and in B.C. 499 the island joined the Ionic revolt [vi. 5, 8]. Lesbos was a celebrated centre of poetry and music, being the birth-place of the minstrel Arion (q.v.) and the lyric poets Terpander, Alcaeus, and Sappho.

Λεωβώτης, c. 65.

Fourth Agiad king of Sparta, nephew of the lawgiver Lycurgus according to Herodotus (but see note c. 65). His reign (about B.C. 1000) was marked by the beginning of Sparta's contest with Argos [Paus. iii. 2, 3]. The Doric form of the name is Labotas.

Λέων, c. 65.

Fourteenth Agiad king of Sparta, father of Anaxandridas (q.v.). During his reign, which lasted till about B.C. 560, the Spartans had ill-success in their war against Tegea.

Λήρισαι, c. 149.

A city a few miles south-east of Cyme. Originally inhabited by Pelasgians, it passed into the hands of Aeolian Greeks, and became a member of their Asiatic confederacy. It was generally known as Larissa Phriconis (q.v.) to distinguish it from the numerous other towns of the same name.

Λιβύη, c. 46.

Herodotus means by Libya the country between Egypt and the Atlantic Ocean. He divides it from north to south into three parallel belts, the inhabited region of the sea-coast, the wild beast tract, and the sandy desert. Along the northern edge of the desert zone he speaks of hills of salt, each with a spring of fresh water in its midst, situated at intervals of about ten days' journey from one another. The first of these oases on the route westward from Egyptian Thebes was that of the Ammonians, containing the temple of Zeus Ammon (q.v.) and the wonderful Fountain of the Sun [iv. 181]. Herodotus knew that Africa had been circumnavigated by Phoenician mariners [iv. 42], but obviously had no clear idea of its vast extension southward.

Λίδη, c. 175.

A mountain of Caria, east of Halicarnassus, on the north side of the Ceramic Gulf. It was fortified and held by the people of Pedasa against Harpagus.

Διμενήιον, c. 18.

A district belonging to Miletus, doubtless in the vicinity of its harbours.

Λίνδος, c. 144.

A Dorian city on the east coast of Rhodes. With Ialysus and Camirus it is mentioned in *Iliad* ii. 656 as sending a contingent against Troy. After the building of the city of Rhodes in B.C. 408 it declined in importance, but still retained some prestige as a religious centre owing to its ancient sanctuaries of Athena and Heracles. The site of the old city is occupied by the modern town of *Lindos*.

Δίχης, cc. 67, 68.

A Spartan,—one of the so-called Agathoergi.

Δοξίης, c. 91.

A title of Apollo, connected by the Greeks with *λοξός* 'oblique,' in allusion to the indirectness and ambiguity of his oracles (*λοξὰ καὶ ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα*, Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* 16). The once popular derivation from *λυκ* (Latin, *lux*), as though it meant 'light god,' is now discredited as etymologically impossible. Other suggested derivations are from *λεξ* in *ἀ-λεξ-ητήριος* 'defender,' and from *λογ* in the sense of 'speaker,' i.e. 'utterer of oracles.'

Λύγδαμης, cc. 61, 64.

A Naxian who volunteered his services to the exiled Peisistratus and assisted him with men and money. He was afterwards established as tyrant of his native island by Peisistratus. According to Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 6) he was an aristocrat by birth and gained the supreme power by espousing the cause of the popular party against the oligarchs. These accounts, at first sight hardly consistent, may perhaps be reconciled by supposing that Lygdamis mounted to power in consequence of a domestic revolution, but being expelled by his political opponents was reestablished in the tyranny by Peisistratus in gratitude for the valuable services which he had rendered him. He subsequently assisted Polycrates to make himself tyrant of Samos (B.C. 532), and in B.C. 525 was put down by the Lacedaemonians.

Λυδία, cc. 79, 93, 94, 142. Λυδοί, cc. 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 27—29, 34—36, 45, 47—50, 53—55, 69, 71, 74, 79, 80, 83—88, 90—94, 103, 141, 153—157, 171. Λυδός, cc. 6, 22, 25, 159, 207. Λύδιος, cc. 7, 72.

Lydia was separated from Mysia on the north by Mt Temnus and from Caria on the south by Mt Messogis, or according to Strabo [xii. p. 577] by the Maeander; on the east it marched with Phrygia. It was anciently called Maeonia [c. 7; cp. *Iliad* ii. 866] but apparently about B.C. 700 obtained the name of Lydia from the tribe of the Lydi, who were either foreign invaders,—though, if so, their original home is quite unknown,—or more probably a particular clan of the Maeones

which suddenly raised itself to power. Radet (*La Lydie*, pp. 57, 58) takes the latter view, and regards the rise of the Lydi as simultaneous with the fall of the Heracleid dynasty (B.C. 687?). Herodotus himself derives the name Lydia from the mythical Lydos (q.v.) and connects the Lydians ethnologically with the Mysians and the Carians [c. 171]. Book I. sketches the early history of Lydia [cc. 7—13], its rapid expansion in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., the culmination of the Lydian empire in the days of Croesus when it embraced all Asia Minor west of the Halys, except Lycia [cc. 14—29], its sudden overthrow by Cyrus [cc. 69—92], the revolt of Pactyas, and the final submission of the country to Mazares [cc. 154—157]. Lydia with Mysia was made into a satrapy by Darius [iii. 90]. The Lydians are described as excellent horsemen and the bravest people in Asia [c. 79] until they were made effeminate by Cyrus [cc. 155—157]. They are credited with the invention of gold and silver coin and of games, and are said to have colonised Tyrrhenia [c. 73]. The marvels of Lydia are recorded in c. 93. See also under Gyges, Alyattes, Croesus, etc.

Λυδός, cc. 7, 171.

Son of Atys (q.v.), eponymous hero of Lydia, brother of Car and Mysus, and ancestor of the first dynasty of Lydian kings.

Λυκίη, c. 182. **Λύκιοι**, cc. 28, 147, 171, 173, 176.

A district on the south coast of Asia Minor, bounded on the west by Caria, on the east and north-east by Pamphylia and Pisidia. Though the name Lycia occurs in Homer, according to Herodotus the country was anciently called Milyas and its inhabitants Solymi; later it was invaded by Sarpedon and a body of Cretans, who retained their name Termilae until the arrival of Lycus (q.v.) from Athens [c. 173]. It is suggested that Lycia really means 'land of dawn' (cp. τὸ λυκανγής), and was applied by the Greeks to the country to the east of them whence they saw the sun rise. As Herodotus' story implies, the Lycians are probably a mixed race, containing a Semitic element in the Solymi. Authorities differ as to whether the language of the Lycian inscriptions can be classed as Aryan. Lycia being a mountainous country was able to maintain its independence against Croesus [c. 28], and offered the most gallant resistance to Harpagus [c. 176]. There was considerable intercourse between the Lycians and the Ionian settlers who are said to have set Lycian kings over them [c. 147].

Λυκός, c. 173.

Son of Pandion. He was expelled from Athens by his brother Aegæus, and is said to have settled in the country of the Termilae which was subsequently called after him Lycia (but see on c. 173, l. 14). At Athens he was worshipped as a hero and associated with the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone [Paus. iv. 1, 6]. The noble Athenian family of the Lycomids claimed descent from him.

Λυκοῦργος (1), cc. 65, 66.

The Spartan legislator. The several accounts of his life are hopelessly inconsistent. According to the Lacedaemonian story given by Herodotus he was uncle and guardian of the Agiad king Leobotes (about B.C. 1000) and effected his reforms, the idea of which he got from Crete, during his nephew's minority. Other authorities make him uncle of the Eurypontid Charilaus (B.C. 884) and say that his legislation was inspired by the Delphic oracle and carried through after his nephew had assumed the government. Thucydides [i. 18], who does not name Lycurgus, dates the settlement of the Spartan constitution at a little more than 400 years before the end of the Peloponnesian war. Lycurgus, like Solon, is reputed to have travelled extensively. Not only did he visit Crete and Egypt, but he made the acquaintance of Homer in Chios, and studied the philosophy of the Hindus in their native country!

Λυκοῦργος (2), cc. 59, 60.

An Athenian, son of Aristolaidas, leader of the oligarchic faction of the Plain. He combined with Megacles to expel Peisistratus.

Μαγνησίη, c. 161.

A city near the north bank of the Maeander, a few miles south-east of Ephesus. In iii. 122 it is called *ἡ ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκημένη* to distinguish it from the Magnesia under Mt Sipylus, the scene of Antiochus the Great's defeat at the hands of the two Scipios in B.C. 190. Magnesia on the Maeander was destroyed by the Cimmerians (q.v.), but rebuilt soon after by the Milesians or, according to Athenaeus [xii. p. 525], by the Ephesians. About B.C. 545 it was plundered by Mazares [c. 161]. Later it became a residence of the Persian satrap [iii. 122].

Μάγοι, cc. 101, 107, 108, 120, 128, 132, 140.

One of the six Median tribes [c. 101]. They were a priestly caste, who, even after the conquest of the Medes by the Persians, retained their religious importance, no Persian sacrifice being complete without the attendance of a Magian [c. 132]. Their practices Herodotus regards as unique [c. 140]. Astyages impaled some of the Magians for their misinterpretation of his dreams [c. 128]. In B.C. 521 they were massacred wholesale for their complicity in the revolt of the false Smerdis, himself a Magian, the anniversary of the massacre being subsequently kept by the Persians as the festival of the Magophonia [iii. 79].

Μαδύης, c. 103.

King of the Scythians who invaded Asia in the time of Cyaxares.

Μαζάρης, cc. 156, 157, 160, 161.

A Mede, charged by Cyrus with the suppression of the revolt of Pactyas. He reduced Lydia to submission, secured the person of

Pactyas, enslaved Priene, plundered the plain of the Maeander with the town of Magnesia, and then fell sick and died.

Μαίανδρος, cc. 18, 161.

A river of Asia Minor rising near Celaenae in Phrygia, and flowing into the sea opposite Miletus after a course proverbial for its tortuousness. (Cp. ii. 29, *σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτη, κατάπερ ὁ Μαίανδρος, ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος*.) The lower part of the valley of the Maeander is a broad and fertile plain, formed, says Herodotus [ii. 10], by the river's alluvial deposits.

Μαιῆτις λίμνη, c. 104.

The Palus Maeotis, modern *Sea of Azov*, lies to the north-east of the Euxine, with which it is connected by the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Herodotus greatly exaggerates its size, describing it as only a little smaller than the Pontus [iv. 86]. It now contains an area of about 13,000 square miles, but in ancient times was probably a good deal larger. Except under certain conditions of wind and tide its waters are free from salt.

Μακεδνός, c. 56.

This name, says Herodotus, was borne by the Dorians, as they were afterwards called, during their sojourn in Pindus (q.v.). It would seem to imply a racial affinity between Dorians and Macedonians. The two races must at least have lived in close neighbourhood, when the Dorians were settled on the slopes of Mt Olympus. The royal family of Macedon claimed descent from the Dorian Temenus, king of Argos.

Μαλέαι, c. 82.

Modern *Malia*, the south-eastern promontory of Peloponnesus. The singular form *Μαλέη* or *Μαλέα* is commoner.

Μανδάνη, cc. 107, 108, 111.

Daughter of Astyages, wife of Cambyses, mother of Cyrus.

Μάνης, c. 94.

Son of Zeus and Ge (Dion. Hal. i. 27), father of Atys (q.v.). He had a grandson, Asias, who, according to the Lydians, gave his name to the continent of Asia [iv. 45].

Μαραθών, c. 62.

A town in the north-east of Attica. Near it lay the famous plain of Marathon, a crescent-shaped stretch of land about two miles wide extending for some six miles along the shore, flanked north and south by salt marshes, and terminating seawards in a broad sandy beach which afforded a convenient landing-place. It was connected with Athens by a road which first ran south along the coast and then swept sharply westward through the valley between Pentelicus and Hymettus. It was the scene of Peisistratus' landing in B.C. 537, and is ever memorable for the Athenian victory over the Persians in B.C. 490.

Μαράφιοι, c. 125.

One of the three principal Persian tribes. *Μάραφισ* occurs in Aeschylus, *Persae* 778. as the name of a Persian king, but the line is probably corrupt. H. C. Rawlinson suggests that the name survives in the title of *Máfée* borne by a Persian tribe at the present day.

Μάρδοι, c. 125. **Μάρδος**, c. 84.

The Mardi or Amardi were a nomadic tribe of predaceous habits, living chiefly in the mountains of Persia Proper, west of Persepolis.

Μαριανδυνοί, c. 28.

A tribe in the north-east of Bithynia between the rivers Sangarius and Billaeus. Strabo (vii. p. 295) assigns them a Thracian origin with the Thynians and the Bithynians (cp. Herod. vii. 75). Their armour resembled that of the Paphlagonians [vii. 72]. At one time they were subject to Heraclea Pontica, the principal town in their territory.

Μάσπιοι, c. 125.

One of the three leading Persian tribes.

Μασσαγέται, cc. 201, 204—208, 211, 212, 214—216.

A powerful and warlike nation living in the steppes to the east of the Caspian Sea beyond the *Oxus*, and neighbours of the Issedones (q. v.). They appear to have belonged to the Scythic or Turanian race. In B. C. 529 they were attacked by Cyrus, but under their queen, Tomyris, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Persians, Cyrus himself being among the slain. Their customs are described in cc. 215, 216.

Ματιηνοί, cc. 72, 202. **Ματιηνοίσι ὄρεσι**, c. 189.

The Matieni are mentioned in three distinct regions, (1) on the right bank of the Halys, at the point where the river turns northward [c. 72]—cp. also vii. 72 where they are described as equipped like the Paphlagonians, their near neighbours in this district,—(2) at the sources of the Araxes in Armenia [c. 202], and (3) in Media, from the Armenian frontier as far south as the sources of the Gyndes or *Diyalah*. Lake *Urumiah* was known to the ancients as *Lacus Matianus*. It would seem that the principal seats of the Matieni were in the great mountain chains of Western Media—the Matiene mountains of c. 189—and of Eastern Armenia, while the Matieni on the Halys may be regarded as an isolated offshoot from the main stock. The Matieni are apparently identical with the *Matai* of Assyrian inscriptions, who were reduced to subjection by Samas-Rimmon in B. C. 821 (Prof. Sayce, note on c. 189). *Matai* may be another form of *Madai*=Medes.

Μεγακλής, cc. 59—61.

Son of Alcmaeon, leader of the Attic faction of the Parali. He helped to expel Peisistratus from Athens, but subsequently, owing to a dispute with his party brought about the tyrant's return, giving him his daughter in marriage. Enraged, however, at Peisistratus' treatment

of his new wife, he again expelled him with the aid of his former supporters. When Peisistratus finally established his power at Athens, he went into exile with the other Alcmaeonidae [c. 64]. Megacles married Agariste, daughter of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon [vi. 127—131], and was the father of Cleisthenes, the Athenian legislator.

Μεγαρές, c. 59.

The inhabitants of Megara, a city about a mile from the Saronic Gulf, on which lay its port Nisaea (q.v.). It was built on a hill, the twin summits of which were occupied by its two citadels, Caria and Alcatheo. The territory of Megara, known as the Megarid, extended northwards across the isthmus to Pagae on the Corinthian Gulf, and was bounded on the west by Mt Geraneia, and on the east by the ridge of Kerata. Its population was originally Ionian, but at an early period the city was conquered and colonised by Dorians [v. 76]. Peisistratus led an attack on Megara and captured Nisaea at some time previous to B.C. 560. See note on c. 59.

Μέλανθος, c. 147.

A king of Messenia, who was expelled by the Dorian invaders of Peloponnesus and fled to Attica. When Xanthus, king of Boeotia, challenged Thymoetes, the last Theseid king of Athens, to single combat, and Thymoetes shirked the contest, Melanthus consented to fight the challenger, and having slain him, was rewarded with the throne of Attica. The legend is an attempt to explain a sudden change of dynasty. He was father of Codrus.

Μερμνάδαι, cc. 7, 14.

A Lydian family; which on the death of Candaules succeeded to the throne of Lydia, and held it for five generations, from the beginning of the seventh century B.C. until B.C. 546.

Μηδείη, cc. 2, 3.

Daughter of Aeëtes, king of Colchis, carried off by Jason and the Argonauts. She was the most famous sorceress of antiquity.

Μῆδοι, cc. 16, 55, 56, 72—74, 91, 95—98, 101, 102, 104, 106—108, 110, 114, 120, 123—130, 134, 162, 185, 206. Μῆδος, c. 80, 156, 157, 163. Μηδῆς, c. 91. ἡ Μηδική, cc. 96, 103, 104, 110, 185. Μηδικός, cc. 72, 101, 110, 128, 135.

The Medes, a people of Aryan stock (vii. 62), closely akin to the Persians, are first known to history in the district south of the Caspian. From the ninth century B.C. onwards they were constantly exposed to the aggressions of Assyria, but though about B.C. 710 Sargon planted a number of cities in their territory, they were never really brought into subjection. By B.C. 640 they had migrated westward into Media Magna, the country bounded by Armenia and the Caspian on the north and east, by Mt Zagros and Persia Proper on the west and south. About this time they suddenly appear as a great conquering nation, and under their monarch Cyaxares, probably the first to consolidate the Median

power, poured down upon Assyria, captured Nineveh, extended their sway to the banks of the Halys, and even warred with Lydia [cc. 103—106]. After a short but brilliant career of conquest Media fell a victim to Cyrus [cc. 123—129], and became the chief province of the new Persian empire. Despite an abortive revolt in the time of Darius [c. 130], the Medes on the whole lived amicably with their conquerors, and indeed so far coalesced with them that 'Mede' and 'Persian' were for the Greeks almost synonymous terms [cc. 163, 206]. Positions of trust under the Persian government were frequently held by Medes. Thus Harpagus, conqueror of the Ionians, and Datis, one of the leaders at Marathon, were both Medes.

Μηθυμναῖοι, c. 151. **Μηθυμναῖος**, c. 23.

Methymna, situated on the north coast of Lesbos, was next to Mytilene the most important city in the island. At an early period it enslaved the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Arisba. It was the birthplace of Arion, and in Roman times was noted for its wine [Virg. *Georg.* ii. 90; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 50].

Μηίων, c. 7.

The ancient name for the people of Lydia (q.v.). The same root is perhaps found in the name of the river Maeander. A town, Maeonia, is mentioned by Pliny [v. 29]. Its ruins are at *Menne*, some 30 miles east of Sardis.

Μήλης, c. 84.

An ancient king of Sardis, whose concubine gave birth to a lion which was carried round Sardis to make it impregnable. Two kings of this name are mentioned, one, a monarch of the legendary Attyad dynasty, deposed by Moxus for his tyranny, and the other, the grandfather of Candaules. Herodotus probably intends the former.

Μίδης.

(1) c. 14. King of Phrygia, the first foreigner who sent offerings to Delphi. He probably reigned about B.C. 738.

(2) cc. 35, 45. Father of Gordias and grandfather of Adrastus (q.v.). The Phrygian kings appear to have been alternately called Midas and Gordias (q.v.).

Μίλητος, cc. 14, 15, 17, 20—22, 142, 146. **ἡ Μιλησίη**, cc. 17, 19, 46, 157. **Μιλήσιοι**, cc. 17, 18, 20—22, 25, 92, 141, 143, 169. **Μιλήσιος**, cc. 74, 75, 170.

Miletus lay at the extremity of the peninsula forming the southern margin of the Latmian bay, opposite the mouth of the Maeander, which in Hellenic times was about nine miles off. The Latmian bay has since become silted up, and the site of Miletus buried in alluvial deposits. The original inhabitants of the place were Carians [c. 146; Homer, *Il.* ii. 867], though other accounts make them Leleges and Cretans. Ionian invaders under Neileus subsequently seized the town, put the males to the sword, and forced the women to become their

wives,—hence the custom mentioned in c. 146. In spite of bitter internal strife Miletus rapidly became a most prosperous and powerful city, 'the ornament (*πρόσχημα*) of Ionia' [v. 28]. The Lydian kings, Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, and Alyattes, attacked it persistently but could make no permanent impression, as the Milesians had command of the sea. They could not, however, protect their territory from plunder, and in the last war suffered two great disasters. None of the Ionians lent them any assistance except the Chians [c. 14—18]. Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus during Alyattes' reign, by means of a stratagem brought about peace with Lydia. Miletus obtained favourable terms from Croesus, and subsequently effected a treaty with Cyrus on the same conditions [c. 141]. In consequence it took no part with the Ionians against him [c. 143].

Μιλύαι, c. 173. **Μιλνός**, c. 173.

According to Herodotus Lycia was anciently called Milyas, but the name was generally applied to the lofty table-land in the north of Lycia and the south-west of Pisidia, whose modern capital is *Elmalu*, and did not include the valley of the Xanthus. The Milyans appear to have been a distinct people from the Lycians, perhaps of Semitic origin (Rawlinson).

Μινύαι, c. 146.

An ancient Greek race. Their chief city was Orchomenus (q.v.) in Boeotia, whence they founded Teos (Paus. vii. 3, 6) under the leadership of Athamas. They are also known in Thessaly, Lemnos, Laconia, Triphylia, and Thera. The Argonauts were supposed to be mainly Minyae. They were obviously a seafaring people and, at least at their capital Orchomenus, accumulated considerable wealth.

Μίνως, cc. 171, 173.

Son of Zeus and Europa, king of Crete (q.v.), and the possessor of a powerful navy, with which he commanded the islands of the Aegean and put down piracy [Thuc. i. 4]. He was famed for his wisdom, and the Cretans attributed their laws and political institutions to him. The numerous legends which cluster round his name show traces of Phoenician influence. The seat of his government was Cnossus, where his palace has recently been unearthed with the relics of an elaborate civilisation.

Μίτρα, c. 131.

Erroneously stated by Herodotus to be the Persian name for Aphrodite. *Mithra* is the Persian sun-god.

Μιτραδάτης, cc. 110, 121.

A Mede, herdsman of Astyages and Cyrus' foster-father.

Μολοσσοί, c. 146.

A tribe of central Epirus, living between the Ambracian Gulf and the river Aous. Some of them emigrated to Ionia.

Μυκάλη, c. 148.

A lofty promontory south of Ephesus, opposite Samos, forming the western end of Mt Messogis. On its northern side lay the Panionium (q.v.). It was the scene of the final overthrow of the Persians in B.C. 479 [ix. 98—104].

Μύλασα, c. 171.

An important city of Caria, modern *Melasso*, lying in a fertile plain nine miles from the sea, and about equidistant from Miletus and Halicarnassus. It was celebrated for the worship of Zeus under various titles, *Zeus Kários* [c. 171], *Zeus Στράτιος* [v. 119] or *Λαβραυνδεύς* whose sanctuary at the village of Labraunda was connected with the city by a sacred way seven miles long, and *Zeus Όσογῶα* whose temple was within the city, and contained a well supposed to have subterranean communication with the sea [Paus. viii. 10, 4].

Μύλιττα, cc. 131, 199.

The Assyrian name for Aphrodite, according to Herodotus. It would appear however that Mulita was rather her Babylonian name, and that in Assyria she was called Belit or Beltis (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies* ii. 15). She was the feminine counterpart of Bel, and was worshipped as queen of the gods and patroness of fertility. She had important temples at Nineveh and Asshur.

Μυοῦς, c. 142.

A town in Caria, a few miles east of the mouth of the Maeander, the smallest of the twelve Ionian cities. Its foundation was assigned to Cydrelus, son of Codrus. It was subsequently deserted by its inhabitants owing to the gnats which infested it, according to Pausanias [vii. 2, 11. See Frazer *ad loc.* who quotes a modern parallel], or, as Vitruvius says [iv. 1, 4], in consequence of inundations. Anyhow, the Myusians incorporated themselves with the Milesians [Strabo, xiv. p. 636].

Μύρινα, c. 149.

An Aeolian city in the extreme north-west of Lydia, on the coast opposite the mouth of the Caicus. It was a small place, but its natural strength and good harbour rendered it of considerable military importance.

Μυρσίλος, c. 7.

A Greek name for the Lydian monarch Candaules.

Μύρσος, c. 7.

A Lydian king of the Heracleid dynasty, father of Candaules.

Μυσίη, c. 160. Μυσοί, cc. 28, 36, 37, 171. Μύσιος, c. 36.

Mysia was bounded on the west by the Aegean, on the north by the Hellespont and Propontis, on the north-east by the Mysian Olympus [c. 36] and the river Rhyndacus, and on the south by Mt Temnus and

Lydia. It was subdivided into several districts, Mysia Major, the southern part of the country with Pergamum for its capital, Mysia Minor, along the coast of the Hellespont, and the Troad. The inhabitants, according to Herodotus, were of the same stock as the Lydians and Carians, and shared in the worship of the Carian Zeus [c. 171].

Μυσός, c. 171.

Eponymous hero of Mysia, brother of Lydus and Car.

Μυτιλήνη, c. 160. Μυτιληναῖοι, c. 160. Μυτιληναῖος, c. 27.

Mytilene, on the east coast of Lesbos (q.v.) opposite the mainland, was the most important city in the island, and is still a flourishing town. About B.C. 606 it engaged in war with the Athenians for the possession of Sigeium [v. 94]. It was in this war that the poet Alcaeus lost his shield and that Pittacus (q.v.) slew Phrynon in single combat. The Mytilenaeans were early distinguished for their commercial enterprise, and were the only Aeolians who assisted to build the Hellenium at Naucratis [ii. 178]. They harboured Pactyas on his flight from Mazares [c. 160]. After the fall of Persia they allied themselves with Athens, but having revolted were all condemned to death. Although this terrible sentence was revoked, their territory was confiscated and divided among Athenian settlers [Thuc. iii. 35—50].

Νάξος, c. 64.

An island in the Aegean, about halfway between Greece and Asia Minor, the largest of the Cyclades, 19 miles long by 15 broad. It was colonised by Ionians from Athens [viii. 46], and was governed by an oligarchy, until, about B.C. 540, Lygdamis (q.v.) established a tyranny. He was assisted by Peisistratus who conquered the island, made it over to the tyrant, and deposited Athenian hostages there. After the fall of Lygdamis the oligarchs recovered their power, but being not long afterwards expelled by the democrats, applied for aid to Aristagoras of Miletus, who came to their assistance with a large Persian force. The expedition was abortive, and the inability of Aristagoras to satisfy the Persian demand for expenses induced him to stir up the Ionian revolt [v. 30—35].

Νέον τεῖχος, c. 149.

An Aeolian town near the Hermus, between it and Larissa Phriconis. It is said to have been built as a temporary fort by the Aeolians on their arrival in Asia, though another account attributes its foundation to the people of Cyme who constructed it as a protection against the Pelasgians of Larissa (*vide* Smith, *Dict. of Geogr.*).

Νίνος, c. 7.

The reputed builder of Nineveh and founder of the Assyrian monarchy. Herodotus calls him son of Belus (q.v.). He was the husband of Semiramis (q.v.).

Νίβος, cc. 102, 103, 106, 178, 185, 193.

Nineveh, on the left bank of the Tigris [c. 193], opposite the modern *Mosul*, was one of the oldest cities of Assyria, and about B.C. 1300 became the capital of the empire. Its site is marked by the mounds of Nebi Yunus and Kouyunjik, and covered an area some 3 miles long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad. About B.C. 630 it was exposed to the attacks of the Medes, who, under Cyaxares, defeated the Assyrians outside its walls [c. 103] and later, perhaps in B.C. 609, effected its capture with the aid of the Babylonian Nabopolassar [c. 106].

Νίσαια, c. 59.

The port of Megara (q.v.), lying at the foot of the modern hill of *St George*, where the remains of its acropolis are still to be seen. Opposite it lay the island of Minoa (Thuc. iii. 51) which has now become attached to the mainland by alluvial deposits (see Frazer, *Pausanias* vol. ii. pp. 540, 541). About B.C. 459 the Athenians united Nisaea with Megara by means of long walls.

Νίτωκρίς, c. 185.

A Babylonian queen, to whom Herodotus ascribes several vast engineering works intended as defences against the Medes, the construction of a bridge over the Euphrates in her capital, and the building of a tomb [cc. 185—187]. He makes her the wife of Labynetus I. (q.v.) and the mother of Labynetus II. [c. 188]. Her existence rests solely upon the authority of Herod. Cp. note on c. 185.

Νότιον, c. 149.

An Aeolian city of unknown site, not to be confused with the port of the same name belonging to the Ionian Colophon (q.v.).

Ξάνθος, Ξάνθιοι, Ξάνθιον πέδιον, c. 176.

Xanthus, the chief city of Lycia, lay on the left bank of the river Xanthus, about eight miles from the sea. Its site, near the modern village of *Gunik*, is marked by magnificent architectural and sculptural remains, specimens of which are to be seen in the British Museum. It was captured by Harpagus after a most gallant resistance [c. 176], and a second time by the army of Brutus, when it offered a no less desperate defence.

Ξέρξης, c. 183.

Son of Darius, king of Persia B.C. 485—465. Though not the eldest son, he was appointed to the succession by Darius probably owing to the influence of his mother Atossa, a daughter of Cyrus [vii. 2, 3]. In his reign the great Persian invasion of Greece took place, and he was a spectator of the battles of Thermopylae and Salamis. He is mentioned in Book I. as guilty of an act of sacrilege against the temple of Bel at Babylon. Herodotus describes him as handsome, cowardly and cruel, a thoroughly bad specimen of Oriental despotism.

᾽Οθρνάδης, c. 82.

The sole survivor of the 300 Spartan champions who fought with 300 Argives for the possession of Thyrea.

Οινούσσαι, c. 165.

A group of five small islands between Chios and the mainland.

Οινωπρία, c. 167.

The name given by the early Greeks to the southern extremity of Italy, from the Sicilian Straits to the Tarentine Gulf and the Gulf of Poseidonia (Strabo, p. 209). Herod. applies the name to the west coast of Lucania. Cp. *art.* Ἴταλῆ.

᾽Ολύμπια, c. 59.

The great national Hellenic festival celebrated every fourth year at Olympia, on the north bank of the Alpheus in Elis. A sacred truce (*ἐκεχειρία*) was observed during the festival, which was attended by an enormous concourse of people from all parts of Greece. Athletic contests formed the chief attraction, but authors frequently seized the opportunity to bring their works before the public. Thus Herodotus is reported to have recited his *History* there, and orators like Gorgias, Lysias and Isocrates addressed the assembled multitudes on affairs of national interest.

᾽Ολυμπος.

(1) c. 56. ᾽Ολύμπια δώματα, c. 65.

The loftiest mountain of Greece, nearly 10,000 feet high, on the borderland between Thessaly and Macedonia. Its great altitude and imposing appearance rendered it a fit residence for Zeus and the other Greek gods, who were supposed to hold their court upon its summit.

(2) cc. 36, 43. A mountain range, modern *Kechish Dagh*, in the north-east of Mysia, between it and Bithynia. Its vast forests harboured the terrible Mysian boar, and were infested with robbers.

᾽Ομβρικοί, c. 94.

The Umbrians, whom Herodotus regards as inhabiting all north [iv. 49] and central Italy, including Etruria, before the Tyrrhenian immigration.

᾽Ορέστης, cc. 67, 68.

Son of Agamemnon, supposed to have been buried at Tegea.

᾽Ορχομένιοι, c. 146.

The inhabitants of Orchomenus in the north-west of Boeotia on the margin of the Copaic lake. In Homeric times it was the dominant Boeotian town, sending 30 ships to Troy (*Il.* ii. 516), and being compared to Egyptian Thebes in wealth (*Il.* ix. 381). Its population consisted of Minyans (q.v.), and it was often called Minyan Orchomenus to distinguish it from other towns of the same name in Arcadia, Euboea and Thessaly. In historical times its splendour had waned before the growing power of Thebes.

Ὄσσα, c. 56.

A mountain, modern *Kissavos*, on the coast of Magnesia in Thessaly, separated from Olympus by the vale of Tempe. It rises in a sharp conical peak over 6000 feet high.

Παιανιεύς δῆμος, c. 60.

Paeania was a deme or parish of Attica to the east of Mt Hymettus near the modern *Liopesi*.

Πακτύης, cc. 153—161.

A Lydian who after Cyrus' departure from Asia Minor stirred up a revolt in Lydia. He marched on Sardis and laid siege to it, but on the approach of a Persian army under Mazares fled to Cyme. The Cymaeans, unwilling to surrender him, sent him to Mytilene, and then hearing that the Mytilenaeans intended to give him up, took him off to Chios. He was finally dragged from sanctuary by the Chians and surrendered to Mazares for a price.

Παλαιστίνη Συρία, c. 105.

Palestine. Herodotus means by it the coast district of Syria occupied by the Philistines (*Παλαιστινοί*) and Jews. Sometimes he makes it include Phoenicia and the whole Syrian sea-board as far as the Egyptian frontier [vii. 89].

Παλληνίς, c. 62.

The Attic deme of Pallene lay in the valley between Pentelicus and Hymettus. Athena was worshipped here under the title Pallenis.

Πάμφυλοι, c. 28.

The inhabitants of Pamphylia, a narrow crescent-shaped strip of coastland between Lycia and Cilicia. On the north it was shut in by the mountains of what was later called Pisidia, though Herodotus does not use the name and would probably have reckoned the district part of Phrygia (cp. Rawlinson, App. to Book i. Essay II. § 8). Pamphylia was the south-eastern limit of the empire of Croesus.

Πανδίων, c. 173.

A mythical king of Athens, son of Cecrops. Expelled from Athens, he in course of time became ruler of Megara, where several children were born to him, Lycus (q.v.) included.

Πανθιαλαῖοι, c. 125.

A Persian agricultural tribe, of whom nothing more is known.

Πανιώνια, c. 148.

The great Pan-Ionic festival annually celebrated at Mycale. By Thucydides' time it appears to have been largely superseded by the Ephesia (Thuc. iii. 104), Ephesus being perhaps a more convenient and accessible centre; but the old festival survived till the time of Augustus.

Πανιώνιον, cc. 141—143, 148, 170.

A sacred enclosure and temple on the north side of the promontory of Mycale, the ancient meeting-place of the Ionians and the scene of the Pan-Ionic festival. It lay a short distance from the shore at the modern village of *Tshangli*, where an inscription containing the name Panionium has been discovered. It was in the territory of Priene, whose inhabitants were consequently responsible for the care of the temple and the management of the festival.

Πάνορμος, c. 157.

A harbour in the Milesian territory, two miles below Branchidae. The remains of a pier, built of enormous marble blocks, are still visible.

Πανταλέων, c. 92.

Son of Alyattes by an Ionian woman, half brother of Croesus and claimant to the throne of Lydia.

Παρητακηνοί, c. 101.

A tribe of Medes dwelling in the south of Media (Paraetacene) on the borders of Persia.

Πάριος, c. 12.

A native of Paros, one of the largest of the Cyclades, six miles west of Naxos. It was the birthplace of Archilochus (q.v.), and was famous for its quarries of white marble.

Πασαργάδαι, c. 125.

The principal tribe of the Persians, containing the royal clan of the Achaemenidae. It is reasonable to connect them with Cyrus' capital, Pasargadae, the modern *Murgab*, north-east of Persepolis.

Πάταρα, c. 182.

A town on the coast of Lycia, famous for its temple and oracle of Apollo. Its site, a few miles south-eastwards from the mouth of the Xanthus, is marked by extensive ruins, which are still known by the name of *Patera*.

Πατρέες, c. 145.

The town of Patrae, modern *Patras*, lay on the coast of Achaea near the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf. During the Peloponnesian war it sided with the Athenians and on the advice of Alcibiades was connected with the sea by long walls. It was a convenient landing-place for passengers between Greece and Italy, and Augustus made it a Roman colony. *Πατρέες* is properly the name of the inhabitants.

Παφλαγόνες, cc. 6, 28, 72.

The inhabitants of Paphlagonia, a district stretching along the north coast of Asia Minor from Bithynia to the river Halys. Dr Macan on vii. 72 holds that the name was bestowed by early Greek navigators, meaning 'Blusterers' or 'Sputterers' (*παφλάζειν*).

Πεῖρος, c. 145.

The largest river of Achaea, broad and deep, falling into the sea near Olenus. It is now called the *Kamnitsa*.

Πεισίστρατος, cc. 59—64.

Son of Hippocrates (q.v.) and related on his mother's side to Solon. In B.C. 560, having previously distinguished himself in a war with the Megarians (q.v.), he became tyrant of Athens by championing the cause of the hill-men against the wealthier classes. He was expelled, probably in B.C. 555, by the united parties of Megacles (q.v.) and Lycurgus, but an agreement with Megacles led to his restoration a few years later (B.C. 550). Forced to withdraw a second time, he settled at Eretria and spent ten years negotiating foreign alliances and collecting men and money. In B.C. 538 he landed at Marathon, marched on Athens and re-established his despotism, which he held till his death in B.C. 527. His rule was mild and beneficent. He encouraged public worship, art and literature, founding the Panathenaic festival, adorning the city with beautiful buildings and superintending the revision of the Homeric poems.

Πελασγοί, cc. 57, 58, 146. Πελασγικόν ἔθνος, cc. 56—58. Πελασγικά πόλιστα, c. 57.

The Pelasgians were an ancient race widely spread in Hellas. The *Iliad* mentions them as Asiatic auxiliaries of the Trojans (ii. 840) and in connexion with Dodona (Ζεῦ Δωδωναίε Πελασγικέ, xvi. 233) and Thessalian Argos (ii. 681). The *Odyssey* (xix. 177) speaks of Pelasgians in Crete. Later writers give them an even more extended range. Thucydides (i. 3) regards them as once the dominant race in Hellas, which according to Herodotus [ii. 56] was anciently called Pelasgia. The Pelasgians of his own day Herodotus describes as living in Lemnos and Imbros [v. 26], at Creston in Macedonia and on the coast of Mysia, and as speaking a barbarous language [c. 57]. The old Pelasgians he associates particularly with Athens, where they built the walls of the acropolis and lived under Hymettus until expelled by the Athenians [vi. 137]. Ephorus thought their original home was Arcadia whence they spread by conquest far and wide over Hellas. Prof. Ridgeway regards them as the authors of the 'Mycenaean' civilisation, but no doubt other races besides the Pelasgians were concerned in its evolution. The popular derivation of Pelasgic from *πάλαι*, *long ago*, perhaps tempted the Greeks to assign the name somewhat indiscriminately to 'antediluvian' (cp. Thuc. i. 3) peoples. For 'A history of the Pelasgian theory' see J. L. Myres in *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* xxvii. pp. 170—225.

Πελλήνη, c. 145.

The most easterly town of Achaea, situated on a fortified hill five miles from the sea.

Πελοπόννησος, cc. 56, 61, 68, 145.

The *Morea*. The name 'Isle of Pelops' does not occur in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, and must have come into use after the Dorian invasion.

It is first found in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (ll. 250, 290), though the epic *Κύπρια* has *νῆσον ἄπασαν Τανταλίδου Πέλοπος*.

Περίανδρος, cc. 20, 23, 24.

Son of Cypselus (q.v.) and tyrant of Corinth, B.C. 625—585. He was reckoned among the Seven Sages. His acuteness enabled his friend Thrasybulus (q.v.) to outwit Alyattes [c. 20] and his reputation for statesmanship was so great that he was chosen to arbitrate between the Athenians and Mytilenaeans in the matter of Sigeium [v. 95]. He initiated a vigorous foreign policy, subjugated Corcyra and made himself master of Epidaurus. His patronage of the dithyrambic poet Arion must have given a great impetus to Dionysus-worship.

Πέρσαι, cc. 1, 2, 4, 5, 46, 53, 71, 72, 75, 77, 80, 84—86, 88—91, 94, 95, 102, 108, 120—135, 137, 141, 143, 148, 153, 156—160, 164, 165, 191, 192, 206—211, 214. **Πέρσης**, c. 107. **Περσική**, c. 126.

The Persians were a branch of the Aryan race who settled in the mountainous district known as Persis Proper to the east of the Persian Gulf. Gradually pressing northwards, under their king Cyrus they occupied the country of Ansan or Western Elam in the neighbourhood of Susa, and then attacked and absorbed the Median empire (B.C. 550). Cp. also *artt.* *Κῦρος*, *Μῆδοι*.

Περσείδαι, c. 125.

The dynastic name of the Persian kings, reputed through an etymological fancy to be descended from Perses, son of Perseus and Andromeda [vii. 61, 150].

Πηδασέες, c. 175.

The inhabitants of Pedasa, an inland town not far from Halicarnassus, probably north-west of that town and south of Mylasa.

Πίνδος, c. 56.

The mountain-range between Thessaly and Epirus. Cp. note on c. 56.

Πιτάνη, c. 149.

An Aeolian city on the north side of the bay of Elaea near the mouth of the river Caicus. The possession of two good harbours made it a place of some commercial importance.

Πιττακός, c. 27.

A Mytilenaeon patriot and one of the Seven Sages. About B.C. 612 he overthrew the tyrant Melanchrus, about B.C. 606 distinguished himself in battle against the Athenians, slaying their commander Phrynon with his own hand, and in B.C. 589 was elected *αἰσυμνήτης* or absolute ruler of Mytilene, an office which he held for 10 years. He died in B.C. 569. A large number of anecdotes cluster round his name [cp. c. 27].

Πλακίη, Πλακιηνοί, c. 57.

Plakia was an ancient Pelasgian town on the Propontis, east of Cyzicus. It never attained to any importance and its exact site is unknown.

Ποσειδέων, c. 148.

God of the sea, brother of Zeus and Hades. He was worshipped principally in maritime states, as in Achaea, where his chief sanctuary was at Helice (q.v.). The cult of Poseidon Heliconius was carried by the Ionians to Asia and centred at Mycale, though inscriptions prove that he was also venerated under this title at Samos and Sinope (Frazer on Paus. vii. 24. 5).

Ποσειδωνιήτης, c. 167.

A native of Poseidonia, later called Paestum, a Greek colony founded from Sybaris, on the north-west coast of Lucania. Its site is marked by magnificent ruins, the temple of Poseidon at Paestum being one of the finest and most perfect specimens of Doric architecture extant.

Πρίαμος, cc. 3, 4.

King of Troy during the Trojan war.

Πριήνη, c. 142. Πριηνέες, cc. 15, 161. Πριηνεύς, c. 170.

Priene was an Ionian city north of Miletus near the mouth of the Maeander. Though originally on the coast, by Strabo's time it was five miles from the sea owing to alluvial accumulations. It was sometimes called Cadme, as its population contained a Boeotian element.

Προνήη, c. 92.

'Of the fore-temple,' an epithet of Athena at Delphi, her temple being in front of the great temple of Apollo. Pausanias (x. 8. 6) and other writers call her *Ἀθήνη Πρόνοια*, 'Forethought Athena,' a later improvement upon *Προναία*, which inscriptions prove to have been her official title (cp. Frazer ad Paus. *loc. cit.*).

Προτοθύης, c. 103.

Father of *Μαδύης* (q.v.).

Πτερία, Πτερία χώρα, Πτέριοι, c. 76.

Pteria, the scene of the first engagement between Croesus and Cyrus, lay to the east of the Halys and is vaguely described by Herodotus as somewhere over against Sinope. Prof. W. M. Ramsay, following Texier, identifies it with *Boghaz Kēni* where are situated the ruins of by far the largest ancient city in Asia Minor. He argues that already in the 6th century B.C. there existed a great road between Sardis and *Boghaz Kēni*, crossing the Halys by the bridge mentioned in c. 75, and affording an easy line of march for the army of Croesus, who would naturally direct his attack against 'the Anatolian metropolis of the Median empire.' (*Historical Geogr. of Asia Minor*, pp. 28—33.) This

identification is nowadays generally accepted. If it is correct, Herodotus must be speaking very loosely, for *Boghaz Keui* is 150 miles south of Sinope. However in any case he can hardly escape the charge of looseness, for even if we place Pteria nearer the coast, it must still be more than 50 miles from Sinope, since it lay beyond the Halys. Croesus could have no good reason for going so far north in his march against Cyrus.

Πύθερμος, c. 152.

A Phocaeen, spokesman of the Ionian embassy to Sparta.

Πυθίη, cc. 13, 19, 47, 48, 55, 65—67, 85, 91, 167, 174.

The priestess of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (q.v.). In early times she was generally a young girl of humble parentage, but later persons of maturer years seem to have been appointed to the office. When the number of inquirers at the shrine became great, two priestesses were constantly employed and a third kept in readiness in case of accidents. Before taking her seat on the sacred tripod the Pythia chewed and fumigated herself with laurel. Her utterances, inspired by the smoke from the oracular chasm, were carefully copied down by a priest called *προφήτης* and rendered into hexameter, or sometimes iambic [cp. c. 174] verse of indifferent quality, in which form they were communicated to the inquirer. Herodotus records several instances of the priestess being bribed or improperly influenced [v. 63, 90, vi. 66].

Πυθώ, c. 54.

The ancient name of Delphi. It was popularly derived from *πύθεσθαι* in reference to the 'rotting away' of the dragon which Apollo slew there (Hom. Hym. to Ap. 372 with Sikes and Allen *ad loc.*). Later it was connected with *πυθέσθαι* (Cp. Soph. *O.T.* 603). Mommsen (*Delph.* p. 14) thinks it may refer to some local peculiarity in the rock, 'rotten stone,' and compares the Swiss *Faulhorn*.

Πύλιοι, c. 147.

The inhabitants of Pylos in Messenia, the town of Nestor and the Neleids, on the promontory of Coryphasium in the *Bay of Navarino*. It was the scene of Demosthenes' operations against the Spartans in B.C. 425 (Thuc. iv. 11 sq.). Possibly in Homeric times the town lay inland at the foot of Mt Aegaleum. Strabo however argues that the Homeric Pylos was not in Messenia at all but north of the river Neda in Triphylia (viii. pp. 349—353).

Ρήγιον, cc. 166, 167.

A Greek colony in the extreme south of Italy opposite the Sicilian Messana, founded by Chalcidians and Messenian exiles. When expelled from Corsica the Phocaeans found a temporary asylum here. Rhegium rose to great power and prosperity in the reign of the tyrant Anaxilas (c. B.C. 494), who obtained possession of Zancle across the water, renaming it Messana, and established a naval station at Scyllaeum to command the straits.

Ῥόδος, c. 174.

An island off the southern coast of Caria, 50 miles long by 25 broad. The fabulous Telchines were reputed to have been the earliest inhabitants of the island, which was subsequently colonised by Dorians from Argos. The original Dorian foundations were Lindus, Ialysus and Camirus, but in B.C. 408 the three towns jointly built the city of Rhodes at the north end of the island. The new capital, which was built under the direction of the architect Hippodamus, was one of the most beautiful and ornate cities of Greece.

Ῥύπες, c. 145.

A town of Achaea, 3 miles west of Aegium on the right bank of the *Tholopotamos* river near the sea. By Strabo's time it was deserted and its territory divided between the people of Aegium and Pharae (Strabo viii. p. 387).

Σαγάρτιοι, c. 125.

A nomad tribe of Persia, probably dwelling to the south-east of the Caspian. They were Persian in race and language, furnished 8000 horse to the army of Xerxes, and were armed only with lassoes and daggers [vii. 85].

Σαδυάττης, cc. 16, 18, 73.

King of Lydia, son of Ardys and father of Alyattes. He bequeathed to his successor an unfinished war with Miletus. For his date see c. 16 note.

Σάκαι, c. 153.

A Scythian or Tatar tribe, neighbours of the Bactrians, dwelling probably in the neighbourhood of the Pamir range. They wore pointed caps and trousers, and were armed with bows, daggers and battle-axes [vii. 64]. They were reduced by the Persians and merged in the fifteenth satrapy of Darius [iii. 93].

**Σάμος, cc. 70, 142, 148. Σάμιοι, cc. 70, 142. Σάμιος, c. 51.
Σαμίη, c. 70.**

The island of Samos, 27 miles long by 12 broad, lies off the coast of Caria opposite the promontory of Mycale, the capital city of the same name being situated on its south-west coast. Its early inhabitants were traditionally Leleges and Carians. It was afterwards colonised by Ionians and soon became one of the most important members of the Ionic confederacy. The Samians were early celebrated for their commercial enterprise and, if the story related in c. 70 be true, sometimes indulged in acts of piracy. Under the tyrant Polycrates (B.C. 532) Samos became the foremost Greek naval power, warred successfully with Miletus and Lesbos, and contracted an alliance with Amasis, king of Egypt. It did not fall a victim to Persia until the tyrant's death in B.C. 522. Samos was celebrated for three great works, a tunnel under a hill nearly a mile long, an enormous mole round the harbour, and a temple of Hera larger than any other known to Herodotus [iii. 60].

Σάνδανις, c. 71.

A Lydian, famed for his wisdom.

Σάρδιες, cc. 7, 15, 22, 27, 30, 35, 43, 47, 48, 69, 70, 73, 77—79, 81, 84, 86, 91, 141, 152—157. **Σαρδιηνόν ἄστν**, c. 80. **Σαρδιηνός κήρυξ**, cc. 22, 83.

The capital of Lydia in the plain of the Hermus at the foot of Mt Tmolus. It lay on either bank of the gold-bearing stream of Pactolus which ran through the market-place [v. 101]. Though the town itself was practically unwallcd, behind it lay a strongly fortified acropolis on an almost inaccessible height [c. 84]. Sardis was captured by the Cimmerians, except the citadel [c. 15], taken by Cyrus [c. 84], and besieged by Pactyas [c. 154]. After the Persian conquest it became the residence of the satraps of Asia Minor.

Σαρδόνιον πέλαγος, c. 166.

Called *Σαρδῶν πέλαγος* by ancient geographers who generally mean by it the sea to the west and south of Sardinia. After the engagement between the Phocaeans and the combined fleets of the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians in 'what is called the Sardinian sea,' the Phocaeans sailed into Alalia, a town on the east coast of Corsica. It is therefore probable that Herodotus included under the name the waters on the east side of the islands, generally known as *Τυρρηικόν πέλαγος*, though this designation is not found until Scylax (B.C. 350?). There seems no good reason why the allied fleets should have approached Corsica from the west. Their natural rendezvous would be off the Etrurian coast.

Σαρδώ, c. 170.

Sardinia, the largest island known to Herodotus. Its fertility attracted the Phoenicians and Carthaginians at an early period. With the exception of Olbia there appears to have been no Greek colony in the island, though Bias recommended the conquered Ionians to migrate thither in a body.

Σαρπηδών, c. 173.

Son of Zeus and Europa. He was expelled from Crete by his brother Minos and settled with his followers in Milyas or Lycia. Homer (*Il.* vi. 199) makes him son of Zeus and Bellerophon's daughter Laodameia.

Σάσπειρες, cc. 104, 110.

A people dwelling between Colchis and Media, probably south of the modern *Tiflis*.

Σεμίραμις, c. 184.

A Babylonian queen who confined the Euphrates between embankments. According to Herodotus she lived five generations before Nitocris, hence about the period of Nabonassar (B.C. 747—733), but

there is no other evidence for the existence of a Semiramis at this date. Possibly the original of Semiramis is the *Assyrian* princess Sammuamat, who is known from an inscription on a statue of the god Nebo found at Nimrud to have been the wife of Rammanu-nirari III., king of Assyria B.C. 812—783. Scaliger's proposal to read 'fifty' instead of 'five generations' would identify the Semiramis of Herodotus with the beautiful and voluptuous wife of Ninus (q.v.), whose adventures afford so congenial a topic to the romancing historians of a later age, and who in all probability is a euhemeristic representation of the goddess Istar.

Σικελίη, c. 24.

At the time of Arion's visit to Sicily the east and south-eastern coasts of the island were thickly sprinkled with Greek colonies, Naxos being the most ancient foundation (B.C. 735) but Syracuse (B.C. 734) the most important. The western district was under Phœnician influence.

Σικυών, c. 145.

A Dorian city of northern Peloponnese in the valley of the Asopos, ten miles north-west of Corinth and three from the sea. Its citadel was on a height behind the town. About B.C. 676 it became subject to the dynasty of the Orthagoridae, the last of whom was the celebrated tyrant Cleisthenes who married his daughter Agariste to the Alcmaeonid Megacles, and was thus the grandfather of Cleisthenes, the founder of Athenian democracy.

Σινώπη, c. 76.

A Greek colony from Miletus on the coast of Paphlagonia (B.C. 770). The Cimmerian invaders of Asia Minor made a settlement on the peninsula of Sinope in B.C. 632 [iv. 12], but the town was afterwards refounded by the Milesians. It became the most important Greek city on the Euxine, its dominion stretching as far east as the Halys. The kings of Pontus subsequently made it their capital and place of residence. It was taken by the Romans in the Mithradatic war and made a Roman colony by Julius Caesar.

Σκύθαι, cc. 15, 73, 74, 103—107, 130, 216. Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, c. 201.

A large number of tribes, probably of Turanian race, scattered over southern Russia and western Asia are massed together under the name of Scythians by Herodotus who devotes a large part of Book iv. to a description of them. Still he does not give so wide a range to the name as some of his contemporaries, for he doubts the Scythian origin of the Massagetæ on the ground of an important difference of custom [cc. 201, 216]. The pressure of hostile Scythians was responsible for the Cimmerian inroad into Asia Minor [c. 15], and in the reign of Cyaxares the Scythians themselves invaded the Median empire, which they terrorised for 28 years [cc. 103—107]. They are also said to have brought about a war between the Medes and Lydians [cc. 73, 74].

Σκυλάκη, c. 57.

A Pelasgian town on the Propontis east of Cyzicus. It existed in Pliny's time (Pliny, v. 40) but its exact site is not known.

Σμύρνη, cc. 15, 16, 94, 149, 150. Σμυρναῖοι, cc. 143, 150.

A city on the Lydian coast east of the mouth of the Hermus. According to one tradition (Strabo, 633 f.) its first colonists were Ionians from Ephesus, which legend says was itself once called Smyrna, but Herodotus holds it to have been originally an Aeolian foundation which passed into the hands of the Ionians through the treachery of some Colophonian exiles. Being the nearest port to Sardis [cp. c. 94] the Lydian monarchs set their heart upon it. It was attacked by Gyges and taken by Alyattes, after which the place was practically deserted for 400 years (*οἰκουμένη κωμηδόν* Strabo 646). It was rebuilt with great splendour by Alexander's successors two miles south of the old site.

Σόλυμοι, c. 173.

The ancient name for the inhabitants of Milyas or Lycia. They are mentioned in *Il.* vi. 184 as opponents of Bellerophon, and this taken in connexion with *Od.* v. 283 'mountains of the Solymi' seems to prove that they were driven to the hills by invading Lycians (cp. Leaf on *Iliad loc. cit.*). The range behind the town of Phaselis was called Mt Solyma. Strabo (pp. 21, 630) and Pliny (*H. N.* v. 27) know of the Solymi as a people widely spread in the uplands of Taurus and subdivided into Milyans, Cabalians and Pisidians. Their language is described by Choerilus (circa B.C. 450) as Phoenician, a piece of evidence which appears to establish their Semitic origin. Some ancient writers, noticing the resemblance between the names, supposed Hierosolyma (*Jerusalem*) to have been founded by the Solymi (*Tac. Hist.* v. 2).

Σόλων, cc. 29—32, 34, 86.

An Athenian of noble family, son of Execestides, whom we first hear of as urging his countrymen to reconquer Salamis from the Megarians and leading a successful expedition against the island. He subsequently persuaded the Alcmaeonidae (q.v.) to submit their case to judicial decision and thus brought about their retirement from Athens (B.C. 599). In B.C. 594 he was elected archon with powers to reform the state. After giving relief to debtors (*σεισάχθεια*) he drew up a constitution based on the principle that political rights and responsibilities should be proportional to property. His legislative work accomplished, he withdrew from Athens for 10 years, visiting Egypt, Cyprus and Lydia. He was a famous elegiac poet and ranked as one of the Seven Sages.

Σούσα, c. 188.

The capital of the province of Susiana, the *Shushan* of the O.T., on the eastern bank of the Choaspes (q.v.). It was a favourite residence of the Persian kings, was the treasury of the empire [v. 49] and the terminus of the Royal Road from Sardis [v. 52]. Excavations have

revealed the ground-plan of the palace at Susa, consisting of a great Hall of Audience standing on a quadrilateral platform of unburnt brick. Inscriptions show that it was built by Darius and repaired by Artaxerxes Longimanus (Rawlinson, *Anc. Mon.*² iii. 317).

Σπακώ, c. 110.

Foster-mother of Cyrus.

Σπαργαπίσης, cc. 211, 213.

Son of queen Tomyris and general of the Massagetae.

Σπάρτη, cc. 65, 68, 69, 82, 83, 141, 152. **Σπαρτιήται**, cc. 65, 67, 82, 152. **Σπαρτιήτης**, c. 153.

Sparta lay upon and around a low elevation rising from the west bank of the river Eurotas. It was a scattered country town, embosomed in gardens and plantations, unadorned with splendid buildings and unfortified [Thuc. i. 10], its strength lying in the lofty mountain barrier which surrounded it, and the fighting powers of its citizens. The true Spartiatae, descendants of the ancient Dorian conquerors and the sole possessors of full civic rights, in B.C. 480 numbered only a little over 8000. As the ruling caste they are often contrasted with their 'Lacedaemonian' (q.v.) dependents [vii. 234. Cp. vi. 58; ix. 28, 29]. See also *art.* *Λακεδαίμων*.

Στρούγατες, c. 101.

A tribe of the Medes.

Στρυμών, c. 64.

The river Strymon, modern *Struma* or *Karasu*, until the time of Philip formed the boundary between Thrace and Macedonia. It rises in Mt Scomius, and north of Ennea Hodoi, the later Amphipolis, expands into lake Prasias or Cercinitis, shortly afterwards falling into the Strymonic gulf at Eion. Peisistratus appears to have had property and influence in the neighbourhood. The Athenians made several disastrous attempts to colonise the district, which was valuable owing to the gold and silver mines of Mt Pangaeum. Not till B.C. 437 did they succeed in establishing themselves at Amphipolis.

Συέννεσις, c. 74.

A Cilician prince who assisted to make peace between the Lydians and Medes. As several kings are known to have borne the name [v. 118, vii. 98], it has been regarded as an hereditary title. But Prof. Sayce (note *ad loc.*) mentions a number of Cilician monarchs with other names.

Σύμη, c. 174.

An island off the Carian coast, west of the promontory of Cynossema and north of Rhodes. It was occupied by a mixed population of European and Asiatic Dorians.

Συρία (Παλαιστίνη), c. 105. **Σύριοι** (Καππαδόκαι), cc. 6, 72, 76.

In Herodotus "Syria is the tract bounded on the north by the Euxine; on the west by the Halys, Cilicia and the Mediterranean; on the east by Armenia and the desert; and on the south by Egypt" (Rawlinson, note on c. 6). Thus Palestine is Παλαιστίνη Συρία and the inhabitants of Cappadocia Σύριοι or, as Strabo calls them, 'White Syrians,' to distinguish them from the darker-skinned tribes of the Phoenician coast. Recent archaeological discoveries have proved that there was a strong Assyrian, or at least Semitic, element in the population of Cappadocia as early as B.C. 2000 (cp. Prof. Sayce, in *Contemporary Review*, Aug. 1907, p. 252 f.). Sometimes the Assyrians themselves were called Syrians by the Greeks [vii. 63]. The name Syria appears to be an abbreviated form of *Asshur*, i.e. Assyria.

Τάβαλος, cc. 153, 154, 161.

A Persian left by Cyrus in charge of Sardis.

Τάρας, c. 24.

A Greek city on the northern shore of the modern Gulf of Taranto, founded by Partheniae from Sparta about B.C. 708.

Ταρτησσός, Ταρτήσσιοι, c. 163.

The Tarshish of the O.T., a district in the south of Spain round the mouth of the Baetis (*Guadalquivir*), colonised at an early period by the Phoenicians. The name is also applied to the river and to the great emporium [iv. 152] of the district, which must have been near and was perhaps identical with Gadeira [iv. 8], Gades or *Cadiz*. Its principal exports were iron, tin, lead and silver. The first Greeks to visit it were some Samians driven thither by contrary winds [iv. 152]. The Phocaeans subsequently had close relations with it.

Τεγέη, cc. 66—68. **Τεγεῆται**, cc. 65—68.

An important city in the southern portion of the eastern plain of Arcadia. It lay only some 25 miles north of Sparta and was consequently at an early date exposed to Spartan aggression, which it successfully resisted for several centuries, inflicting several crushing defeats on the invaders. It was not till about B.C. 560 that fortune changed in Sparta's favour. Even then the Tegeans retained their autonomy, becoming Sparta's firm allies and taking the post of honour on the left wing in battle.

Τέλλος, c. 30.

An Athenian whom Solon accounted the happiest of men.

Τελμησσέες, cc. 78, 84.

The people of Telmessus, now *Makri*, a city in the west of Lycia near the Carian frontier. They were celebrated for their powers of divination and made a speciality of the interpretation of dreams (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 16, p. 361 P.). Their art they derived from Telmessus, a son of Apollo and founder of their city. They were frequently

consulted by the Lydian kings. There was another Telmessus in Caria, seven miles from Halicarnassus, but the evidence goes to show that the former was the seat of the Telmessian soothsayers.

Τένεδος, c. 151.

A small island about five miles off the coast of the Troad with a town of the same name on its eastern shore.

Τερμίλαι, c. 173.

The ancient name of the Cretan invaders of Lycia, also written *Τρεμίλαι* and *Τρεμιλεῖς*. Herodotus implies that its use survived only among the neighbours of the Lycians, but in native inscriptions it frequently occurs in the form *Tramelê*, while the name *Λύκιοι* is not found except in the Greek portions of them. It still lingers in the modern village of *Tremili*. Cp. Rawlinson *ad loc.*

Τέως, cc. 142, 170. **Τήιοι**, c. 168.

An Ionian city of Lydia south-west of Smyrna. It possessed two good harbours and a flourishing commerce. Its inhabitants rather than submit to the Persians sailed away to Thrace and founded Abdera. Teos however still existed and subsequently became an ally of Athens. It was regarded as 'the centre of Ionia,' and hence was suggested by Thales as a suitable spot for the capital of a united Ionia.

Τήμνος, c. 149.

An Aeolian city on a hill to the east of the mouth of the Hermus. It was never of much importance and by Pliny's time was uninhabited.

Τίγρης, cc. 189, 193.

The Tigris rises in the mountains of Armenia and flowing first in an easterly direction turns south-east into the plains of Mesopotamia, passing the city of Nineveh and receiving on its left bank several navigable tributaries of which Herodotus [v. 92] mentions three, meaning probably the Greater and the Lesser Zab and the Diyalah. North of Babylon it was connected with the Euphrates by a canal. Originally it appears to have entered the Erythraean Gulf by a separate mouth, as Herodotus believed [c. 189], though as early as the time of Pliny it united its waters with those of the Euphrates before it reached the sea.

Τιμήσιος, c. 168.

A citizen of Clazomenae who attempted to colonise Abdera.

Τμῶλος, cc. 84, 93.

A mountain range of Lydia, rising to over 6000 feet, immediately behind Sardis and forming the southern barrier of the Hermus valley. It was rich in gold and famed for its vines.

Τόμυρις, cc. 205—208, 213, 214.

Queen of the Massagetae (q.v.).

Τριόπιον, c. 174. **Τριοπικὸν ἶρόν**, **Τριόπιος Ἀπόλλων**, c. 144.

In c. 174 Herodotus applies the name Triopium to the whole of the peninsula west of the Bybassian Chersonese (q.v.), but most writers confine the term to the westernmost end of this tract, either Cape *Crio*, on which Cnidus was built, or, as Rawlinson argues, the promontory immediately north of it. The temple of Apollo on Triopium was the religious centre of the Dorian Hexapolis.

Τριταιέες, c. 145.

Tritaea, probably the modern *Kastritza*, the most inland of the cities of Achaea, lay about 10 miles from Pharae near the Arcadian border. *Τριταιέες* is properly the name of its inhabitants.

Τριτανταίχμης, c. 192.

A satrap of Babylon. Another Tritantaechmes, son of Artabanus and nephew of Darius, is mentioned in vii. 82, 121 and viii. 26.

Τροφώνιος, c. 46.

A hero who had a famous oracle at Lebadea in Boeotia. The oracle was in a subterranean cavern the entrance to which was by a ladder through a shaft of masonry just big enough to admit a man. Anyone who wished to consult Trophonius had first to offer preparatory sacrifices, after which he was washed and anointed and given the waters of Forgetfulness and Memory to drink, that he might forget the past and remember what was to be revealed to him. Then having assumed the appropriate costume, linen tunic with ribbons and shoes of the country, he went down the shaft and at the bottom saw a hole, which he entered feet foremost. His feet once through, some unseen power dragged the rest of his body after them. Here the future was revealed, but in different ways; to one it was given to see, to another to hear. Pausanias remarks that 'no one of those who went down died,' except a certain soldier who entered with anything but a religious object. 'His dead body appeared at another place, and was not cast out at the sacred opening.' (Frazer's Trans. of Paus. ix. 39.)

Τύρος, c. 2.

The principal city of Phoenicia, partly on the mainland and partly on an island, though the two are now connected by an isthmus of sand which has grown up round the causeway constructed by Alexander the Great in his operations against the town. It possessed a sheltered roadstead and two good harbours protected by enormous moles. Herodotus was told by the priests of Heracles (Melcarth) that the city was founded 2300 years before his time [ii. 44].

Τυρσηνίη, cc. 94, 163. **Τυρσηνοί**, cc. 57, 94, 166, 167.

Tyrsenia or Tyrrhenia is the Greek name for Etruria. Herodotus and many later historians followed a Lydian account which made the Etruscans immigrants from Lydia [c. 94]. Dionysius of Halicarnassus however strongly protested against the view on the ground that the two races showed no similarity in language, customs, religion or laws. Though Herodotus' story cannot be accepted as it stands, recent

research tends to connect the inhabitants of Etruria with the Aegean basin and to regard them as akin to the so-called Tyrrheno-Pelasgians, who were settled in Thrace [c. 57], in Lemnos (Thuc. iv. 109) and in other islands off the Thracian coast, and were the 'Tyrrhenian pirates' of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. An inscription has been found at Lemnos in an unknown language strongly resembling Etruscan (see R. Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*¹, p. 109). At one time the power of the Etruscans extended as far north as the Alps: they possessed important settlements in Campania and maintained a strong fleet, with which they assisted the Carthaginians to drive the Phocaeans from Corsica [cc. 166, 167]. Subsequently they combined with the Carthaginians against Cumae, but on this occasion suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Hiero of Syracuse [B.C. 474], after which we hear little more of their aggressions upon Greeks, whom they appear to have always regarded as intruders in the waters of the Tyrrhenian Sea. The name *Τυρσηνοί* is said to mean 'Tower-men.'

Τυρσηνός, c. 94.

Son of the Lydian Atys and coloniser of Tyrrhenia (q.v.). Xanthus mentions as the sons of Atys only Lydus and Torybos or Torrhebus, —the latter, eponymous hero of the district of Torrhebia,—ignoring Tyrsenus and thereby suggesting that he did not believe in the Lydian emigration to Italy.

Υέλη, c. 167.

The later Elea, Latin *Velia*, a town on the Tyrrhenian Sea in the north of Oenotria (q.v.) colonised by the Phocaeans after their evacuation of Corsica. It is chiefly famous as the seat of the Eleatic school of philosophy.

Υλλος, c. 80.

A tributary of the Hermus, which it enters from the north some 30 miles above Sardis. It is mentioned in Homer, *Il.* xx. 392 "Υλλω έπ' ίχθυόεντι και Έρμω δινήεντι.

Υροιάδης, c. 84.

A Mardian, the first of the besiegers to make his way into the citadel of Sardis.

Υστάσπης, cc. 183, 209—211.

An Achaemenid of the younger branch, son of Arsames and father of Darius. Cp. vii. 11.

Φαρές, c. 145.

The people of Pharae, an inland town in the west of Achaea on the left bank of the Peirus (q.v.) near the modern *Prevelo*.

Φάσις, cc. 2, 104.

The chief river of Colchis, modern *Rioni*, rising in the Caucasus and flowing into the eastern end of the Euxine. It was regarded as the boundary between Europe and Asia.

Φθιώτις, c. 56.

A hilly district in the south of Thessaly between the Pagasaeon gulf and the country of the Dolopes, washed on the south by the Maliac gulf. According to c. 56 it was once inhabited by Dorians, but the Homeric Phthia which gave its name to the district was an important seat of the Achaean power (*Il.* ii. 683), and in vii. 132 Herodotus speaks of Achaeans of Phthiotis giving earth and water to Xerxes.

Φοίνικες, cc. 1, 5, 105, 143. Φοῖνιξ, c. 170. Φοινίκη, c. 2.

The Phoenicians were a Semitic people inhabiting a narrow strip of territory along the coast of Northern Palestine. The great carriers and middlemen of antiquity, they sent out numerous colonies to all parts of the Mediterranean [*cp.* c. 105] and possessed a powerful fleet of warships, which after their submission to Persia was the mainstay of the Persian naval power. According to a native tradition, generally accepted as correct, they came originally from the shores of the Persian Gulf (*cp.* note on c. 1). See also *Καδμείοι, Καρχηδόνιοι, Ταρτησσός, Τύρος.*

Φραόρτης.

(1) c. 96. Father of Dēioces (q.v.).

(2) cc. 73, 102, 103. Son of Dēioces, king of the Medes. According to Herodotus he subdued the Persians, founded with their assistance a great Median empire and after a reign of 22 years (B.C. 656—634) was killed in an attack on the Assyrians of Nineveh.

Φρικωνίς, c. 149.

An epithet of Cyme (q.v.) derived from Mt Phricium in Locris near Thermopylae, the native place of its Aeolian colonists. Larissa also bore the name.

Φρύγες, cc. 28, 72. Φρύξ, c. 35. Φρυγία, cc. 14, 35.

The Phrygians inhabited an extensive territory in the central plateau of Asia Minor stretching from Lydia to the Halys and from Paphlagonia to Pisidia. They were also settled in the Troad and the adjoining coast of the Propontis which together were known as Lesser Phrygia. A seemingly correct tradition represents them as akin to the Thracians. Several undoubtedly Semitic peculiarities in the people, such as a horror of swine's flesh, an orgiastic type of religion and the possession of a flood legend closely parallel to the Biblical story, must be due to an original Semitic population, which was subsequently conquered and submerged by a race of Aryan invaders from across the Hellespont. That the Phrygians at an early period had relations with the Greeks is proved by the legends of Troy and Pelops, by the historical fact of Midas (q.v.) in the eighth century B.C. sending presents to Delphi and by the spread of the characteristic Phrygian worship of Cybele among the Greek colonists.

Φύη, c. 60.

An Athenian woman whom Peisistratus' followers dressed up to impersonate the goddess Athene and assist in his restoration.

Φωκαίη, cc. 80, 142, 152, 162, 164, 165, 168. **Φωκαίees**, cc. 163—167.
Φωκαίεύς, c. 152.

Phocaea was a Greek colony on the Lydian coast north-west of the mouth of the Hermus. Traditionally settled by Phocians under Athenian leadership it became a member of the Ionian confederacy. Its inhabitants were early remarkable for their maritime enterprise, being the first Greeks to open up the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas to Greek commerce [c. 163]. About B.C. 600 they founded Massilia and extended their voyages beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, making friends with Arganthonius, king of Tartessus. When their town was besieged by the Persians, part of the Phocaeans rather than surrender sailed away to their Corsican colony of Alalia. Here in consequence of their piratical habits they were attacked by the Etruscans and Carthaginians and forced to evacuate the island, finally settling at Elea (q.v.).

Φωκέες, cc. 46, 146.

The inhabitants of Phocis, a district bounded by Boeotia on the east, by Doris and the various tribes of Locrians on the north and west, and by the Corinthian gulf on the south. The most important city of Phocis was Delphi, the centre of Apollo worship. Another celebrated shrine of Apollo was at Abae (q.v.). The Phocians, a mixed race of Aeolians and Achaeans, sent a contingent to Asia Minor [c. 146] and joined the Ionians in colonising Phocaea (q.v.).

Χαλδαῖοι, cc. 181, 183.

The Kaldû, a race presenting strong Semitic characteristics, make their first appearance in history in the marshes of Lower Babylonia. They gradually extended their power northwards and long fought with Assyria for the possession of Babylon. Thus during the reign of the Assyrian Sargon (B.C. 722—705) a Chaldaean chieftain Merodach-Baladan won his way to the throne of Babylon and was only expelled by Sargon's successor Sennacherib. It was not till after the Persian conquest that the name Chaldaeans came to signify a priestly caste [c. 181] devoted to astrological studies (cp. O.T. *Dan.* iv. 7 etc.), this sense being quite unknown to Assyro-Babylonian usage, though common in Greek writers. Babylonia being the home of astronomical science, the name as applied to the students of such lore may be a relic of the domination of the Kaldû, who even after their downfall, as so frequently happens with a conquered race, still retained priestly functions and were honoured as the repositories of ancient and mysterious knowledge. Cp. *Encycl. Biblica art. Chaldea.*

Χάλυβες, c. 28.

Though the Chalybes are placed by most Greek writers in Eastern Pontus, Herodotus by including them in the dominions of Croesus implies that they dwelt west of the Halys. Herein he is followed by Pomponius Mela (1st cent. A.D.), the latter of whom speaks of them in the neighbourhood of Sinope. They were famous in antiquity as miners and workers of metal (*Aesch. P. V.* 714 *σιδηροτέκτονες Χάλυβες*), and the name may have been somewhat loosely applied to various

tribes of Pontus and Paphlagonia engaged in mining, irrespective of their precise situation. Surface iron is still worked in Pontus by a rude population, which as soon as it has exhausted one spot moves on to another.

Χίλων, c. 59.

A Lacedaemonian, one of the Seven Sages. He was a contemporary of Peisistratus' father and became ephor in B.C. 560. He wrote elegiac poems and was noted for his sententious maxims.

Χίος, cc. 142, 160, 164. **Χίοι**, cc. 18, 142, 160, 161, 165. **Χίος**, c. 25.

The rugged island of Chios lies five miles off the coast of Lydia opposite the peninsula on which Erythrae (q.v.) stands. It is 32 miles long and from 8 to 18 broad, and chiefly noted for its wine. Its principal town, the modern *Scio*, lay on its eastern shore. Leleges, Pelasgi, Cretans, Carians and Abantes (q.v.) are mentioned among its early inhabitants, but in historical times it was a member of the Ionian confederacy. Owing to its insular position it was not conquered by Cyrus and actually received a grant of territory on the mainland for delivering up Pactyas [c. 160].

Χοάσπης, c. 188.

The modern *Kerkhah*, a river of Susiana rising on the southern slopes of Mt Orontes behind Agbatana and flowing first south-west and then south into the Tigris. On it stood the royal town of Susa, and the Persian king might drink of the waters of no other river. It is sometimes identified with the Eulaeus (the *Ulai* of Dan. viii. 2) of which Pliny *H. N.* xxxi. 21 tells the same story.

Χρομλος, c. 82.

One of the two Argive survivors in the contest of Argive and Spartan champions.

Ψαμμήτιχος, c. 105.

Psamtek I., king of Egypt B.C. 664—610, secured the Egyptian throne with the help of Ionian and Carian mercenaries whom he permanently settled in the country [ii. 152, 154]. He finally threw off the yoke of Assyria. For his operations in Syria see c. 105 note.

Ἦλενος, c. 145.

A town in the west of Achaea at the mouth of the river Peirus. It is commonly identified with the ruins at *Kato-Achaia*. (But see Frazer's *Paus.* vol. v. p. 618.)

Ἦπις, c. 189.

An important city of Babylonia on the Tigris according to Herodotus, followed by Strabo who places it near the Median Wall and calls it 'the emporium of the surrounding districts.' Xenophon however (*Anab.* ii. 4, 25) places it on the Phycus, modern *Adhem*. It probably lay near the confluence of the two rivers at a spot still marked by extensive ruins.

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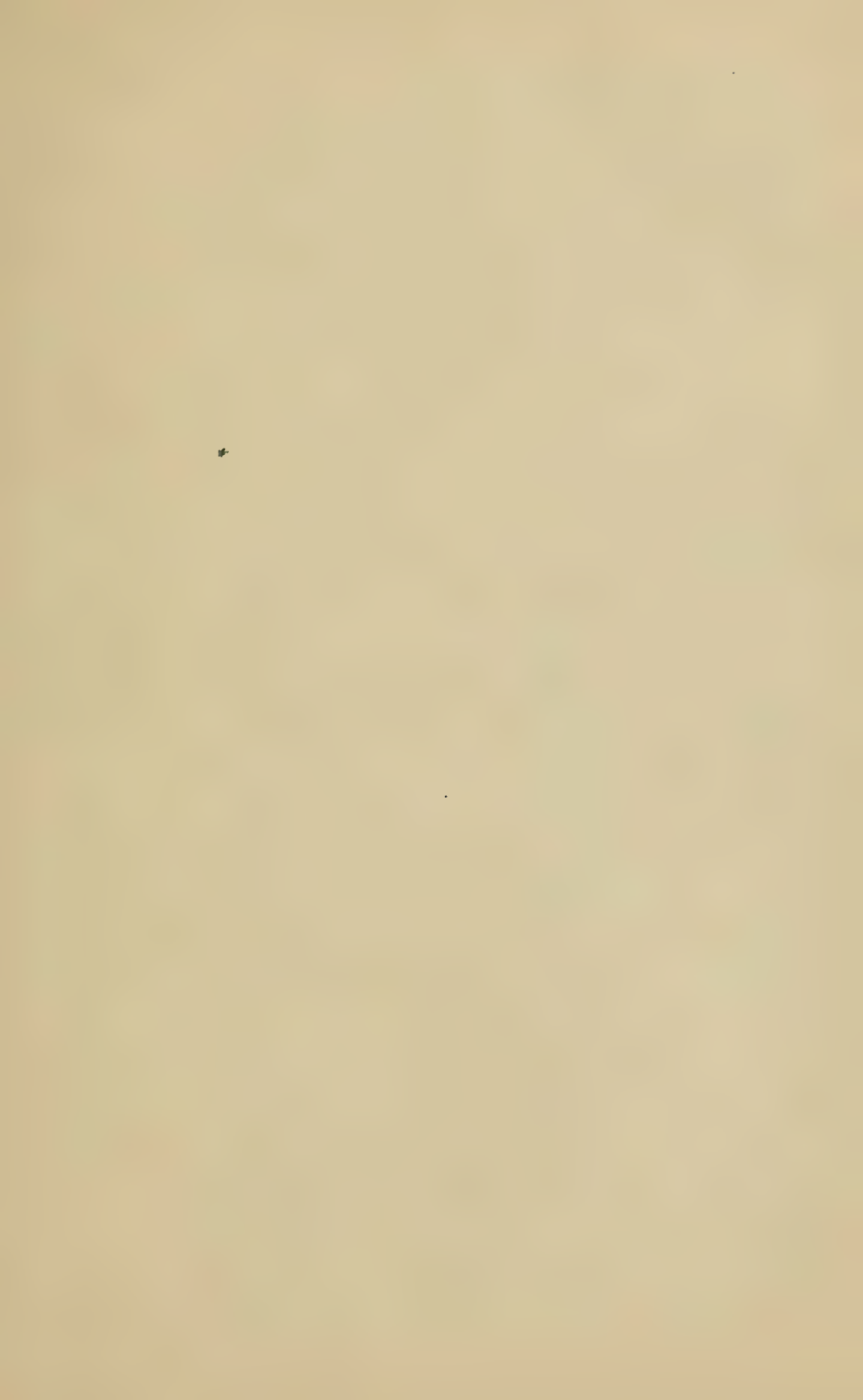
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